

The Lute in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century

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*Proceedings of the International
Lute Symposium Utrecht,
30 August 2013*

Edited by

Jan W.J. Burgers, Tim Crawford
and Matthew Spring

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Dedicated to the memory of Louis Peter Grijp
1954-2016

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INTRODUCTION

THE LUTE IN THE NETHERLANDS IN THE 17TH CENTURY

JAN W.J. BURGERS, TIM CRAWFORD
AND MATTHEW SPRING

This book contains the proceedings of the International Lute Symposium ‘The Lute in the Golden Age’, held in Utrecht on Friday 30 August 2013. It was part of an International Lute Festival organised by the Dutch Lute Society in collaboration with the Utrecht Early Music Festival. This event took place from 30 August to 1 September and comprised a host of lute-related activities: concerts, masterclasses, workshops, a summer school, lectures, and the presentation of three books and a double CD. Many of these activities were related to the theme of the symposium: the lute in the 17th-century Netherlands. The same is true of the books and the CD,¹ and of some of the papers that were given at other venues: one by Greet Schamp during the ‘Lute lectures’ on Saturday 31 August and another delivered by Fred Jacobs on the same day in the summer school series of the Early Music Festival. Both are included in the present volume. All the authors have significantly expanded their papers into full-scale book chapters. As the last part of the symposium was devoted to lute sources from the Netherlands, two of the authors who had independently written articles on that subject, François-Pierre Goy and Simon Groot, have graciously agreed to contribute these to the present book; the description

¹ *Nicolas Vallet, Collected works for lute*, facsimile edn. with an introduction by Simon Groot, 3 vols. (Haarlem [2013]); *Joachim van den Hove: Life and Work of a Leiden Lutenist 1567-1620*, ed. Jan W.J. Burgers, 2 vols. and CD ROM (Utrecht 2013; Muziek uit de Republiek, Speciale projecten); Jan W.J. Burgers, *The Lute in the Dutch Golden Age: Musical Culture in the Netherlands 1580-1670* (Amsterdam, 2013; Amsterdam Studies in the Dutch Golden Age); Willem Mook, ‘*Resveillez vous*’: *Nicolaes Vallet, Psalms and music for lute*, double CD (Spaarne Muziekdagen, 2013).

by Jan Burgers, Louis Grijp and John Robinson of a recently discovered Dutch lute source has further been added. Finally, Simon Groot also undertook to rework the talk on the subject of the entrepreneurship of the Dutch lutenists Nicolas Vallet and Joachim van den Hove that he had given at the presentation of the books and CD. With these additions to the original programme of the symposium, the present book offers a broad range of texts on its central theme: the lute in the 17th-century Netherlands.

The choice and scope of this theme requires some elucidation. The chronological terms ‘Golden Age’ and ‘17th century’, and the topographical terms ‘Dutch’ and ‘the Netherlands’ used in the title of this book and in the paragraph above have undergone changes in meaning over time and require some historical contextualization.

The Low Countries, the region roughly corresponding with the present-day Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg, consisted in medieval times of a number of large and small principalities such as Holland, Brabant and Flanders. Gradually these principalities came under the dominion of the Burgundian-Habsburg House, and as a result the Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands, as the region now was commonly called, evolved in the first half of the 16th century into an administrative and to some extent a cultural entity. This growing unity was broken during the Dutch Revolt, when from 1568 onward religious dissent on the part of a strong Protestant minority led to open war. The situation was exacerbated by the widely felt aversion for the Lord of the Netherlands, King Philip II of Spain, who trampled over the old liberties of the lands and raised heavy taxes. At first, most of the Seventeen Provinces joined the rebellion, but Spanish military successes brought the south back into the royalist and Catholic camp. From 1585 onward the northern seven provinces began to liberate themselves from Spanish control and to form an independent state: the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands. It is this state that evolved into the present-day Kingdom of the Netherlands, and that is designated with the adjective ‘Dutch’. The term ‘Holland’ indicates the western provinces of the Republic, in the 17th century its richest and most important part (colloquially the name is also used for the country as a whole, but this is something best avoided). The term ‘the Netherlands’ in this historical context designates the common entity of the northern and southern parts.

The Southern Netherlands (roughly present-day Belgium and Luxembourg) remained under foreign rule: first by Spain then from 1598 under the Austrian Habsburgs. During the war the two parts of the old Netherlands became increasingly estranged. After the Peace of Westphalia

(1648) tensions subsided somewhat, but the two countries continued to grow apart with an increased religious polarisation between the Calvinists in the North and the Catholics in the South. The former rich cultural life of the southern provinces, especially in the cities of Antwerp and Ghent, never wholly recovered from the war, although in the 17th century the Southern Netherlands returned to a period of relative prosperity, in which musical life flourished in many churches and at the Brussels court of the Archdukes.

It was in the north, however, that the hard-won independence stirred up an unprecedented economic, scientific and cultural flowering. This cultural blossoming lasted for the greater part of the 17th century and is generally known as the 'Golden Age'. It was restricted in the main to a relatively small group of aristocrats and city burghers. The Dutch cities and towns, Amsterdam in particular, grew wealthy and populous thanks to their industries and thriving international trade. In part the money thus earned was channelled into grand houses and the production of luxury goods such as paintings, and into the pleasures of reading, feasting, music making and dancing. This required architects to build the houses, painters to paint the thousands of pictures that decorated the walls of the burghers, authors and printers to meet the demands of the readers, and also musicians to teach the young and to play at parties.

This brings us to the main theme of the symposium and the present volume: the lute in the Dutch Golden Age. In the mind of today's international public the Golden Age is always strongly associated with its painting and, to a lesser extent, its architecture; Rembrandt, Hals and Vermeer are household names all over the world. For educated Dutchmen, the period was also marked by its flowering of literature and poetry, with well-known authors such as Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, Adriaen Bredero, Constantijn Huygens and Joost van den Vondel. Yet of all the arts, Dutch achievements in music during this time seem to have been almost completely passed over. This is something of a mystery, as musical scenes are depicted in hundreds of famous Dutch paintings of the period. Only in recent decades have musicologists and musicians become aware of the important, even all-pervasive role played by music in Dutch cultural life of the 17th century. Wherever people were together in an informal setting, they were apt to sing and play musical instruments; in this respect, the paintings seem to be depictions of real life. Hundreds of songbooks were printed, mostly just giving the lyrics as these were to be sung to popular tunes everybody knew. We can deduce from the many instrument makers mentioned in the administrative sources of the cities, and from the

inventories of goods and chattels of the deceased and the bankrupt that many people played a musical instrument.

In this period all over Europe the lute was one of the most important musical instruments and it is reasonable to suppose that in the Netherlands things were no different. Certainly Dutch paintings give ample support for this assumption. Yet for the international lute community of modern times the lute in the Netherlands remained something of a blind spot. Up until the 1980s, while there was an awareness of the dozens of 16th-century editions in the Southern Netherlands, first published by Petrus Phalesius in Leuven, and culminating in the books by Emanuel Adriaenssen printed later by the same firm in Antwerp, the general impression was that after that not much of interest happened. That two Dutch lutenists from the beginning of the 17th century, Joachim van den Hove and Nicolas Vallet, had published seven lute books, and that a number of lute manuscripts, one of which is the largest single such book in the world were of Dutch origin, had received comparatively relatively little notice. Editions and studies of Dutch lute music remained relatively rare, as were recordings of the repertoire.

In recent decades this unfavourable situation has rapidly changed for the better. From the second half of the 1980s onwards editions of Dutch lute music began to appear, mostly in facsimile but also critical editions so that today practically all the lute music of the Dutch Golden Age is available for researchers and players. Among the landmark publications are the complete works of Vallet and Van den Hove and the facsimile edition of the Thysius lute book.² These works now provide the materials for a closer study of the lute, the lutenists and lute music in the Dutch Golden Age, which is why the symposium of 2013 was dedicated to that subject.

Like the symposium, this book is divided into three parts. The first, more general section is devoted to the lute in its social and cultural contexts –

² For Vallet see note 1; previously his publications were edited separately in 4 volumes (Utrecht, 1986-92). For Van den Hove see again note 1; facsimile editions of his publications are also available: *Florida* 1601 (Utrecht, 2004); *Delitiae musicae* 1612 (Stuttgart, 2002); *Praeludia testudinis* 1616 (Brussels, 1982). A facsimile edition of the Thysius lute book, *Het Luitboek van Thysius / The Thysius Lute Book*, eds. J.W.J. Burgers, L. P. Grijp, J. H. Robinson, S. Groot, 3 vols. (Leiden and Utrecht, 2009). Facsimile editions of manuscripts written by Van den Hove or closely related to him are the Herold lute book (München, 1991), the Schele lute book (Glinde, 2004), and the Hove-1 lute book in Berlin (Glinde, 2006).

which is not to say that cultural elements are absent from the other parts. The first chapter, by Louis Grijp, whose untimely death prevented him from seeing this book in print, deals with a rather neglected aspect of lute music, namely its religious repertoire, in this case the Calvinist psalms in the Netherlands and elsewhere. There is a general awareness of the many lute settings of religious music, from the earliest surviving pieces from around 1500 up to the last ones from late in the 18th century, but to our modern taste these works seem to have little if any appeal. This was of course different in centuries past for men and women who were often deeply or even passionately devout, especially for those living through savage wars of religion. For lute composers and players before the modern lute revival these settings would often have had a special meaning. It is therefore fitting that a first step is taken to delve into this repertoire; one that will highlight the connections between the lute and other vocal and instrumental music, in which the religious works of course were often the most important in a composer's oeuvre.

In order to place the lute in its social context it is necessary to study not just its music, but above all the archival sources that tell us about lutenists of the past and the way they dealt with the world. This Simon Groot has done in his chapter on the lives of Joachim van den Hove and Nicolas Vallet. Groot shows that life was not easy for these professional musicians, but that they managed to earn a decent living by giving lessons, running dance schools (in Vallet's case) and by playing at weddings, banquets and other parties. Professional careers were sometimes derailed through financial misjudgement or misfortune; Vallet and Van den Hove both went bankrupt at one time or another, and Van den Hove even died in poverty. We know of the existence of many lutenists in the larger Dutch cities and towns, and we may assume that they were likewise able to carve out a reasonable, if perhaps precarious existence from their profession.

In the next chapter, Jan Burgers explores the role of Leiden as a centre of lute music in 17th-century Holland. Leiden was the second largest city in the province. Here more professional lutenists (most of foreign descent), are found than in all the other Dutch towns taken together, Amsterdam included. The probable reason for this is the presence of a university (founded in 1575), one which attracted students from all the Protestant countries of Europe. This international population must have contributed a good deal to the thriving lute culture found in Leiden.

Andreas Schlegel delves into the rich iconographical material of paintings from the Republic and also from the Southern Netherlands. He draws attention to specific problems not acknowledged before, such as the constant copying of paintings; and considers what this practice means for

the accuracy of the depictions of lutes. Combining his iconographic findings with the terminology of written lute sources, he tentatively identifies new regional lute types in the early 17th century in the Netherlands and in France.

The second part of the present volume is devoted to the fascinating person of Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687). During the greater part of his life he held high office serving three consecutive Princes of Orange. In this capacity he played a major role in the politics and the administration of the Republic. Huygens made a number of diplomatic journeys abroad, especially to England and France, during which he met many men and women of culture. He was a passionate lover of literature and music; and until quite recently was remembered mainly as one of the leading Dutch poets of the Golden Age. He was also a lifelong lover of music, playing the lute and several other instruments and composing himself. This musical aspect of his life was already well-known, but has recently received much more attention, thanks also to the new edition of his many letters pertaining to music.³ These documents, together with Huygens's poems, prove to be an inexhaustible source of information about this gentleman-musician.

On the basis of these writings as well as poems from other Dutch authors, Anthony Bailes reconstructs various aspects of Huygens's life as a lutenist. We learn about Huygens's schooling on the instrument (he was mostly bored as a youth, as it turns out), and on what types and sizes of lutes he played. Huygens considered buying a lute from Jacques Gaultier in England, and their correspondence on this transaction is instructive of the way that contemporary connoisseurs judged the quality of an instrument.

Huygens's correspondence with the 'English Gaultier' is explored further in the chapter by Matthew Spring. He presents new archival findings (it is now certain that the Jacques Gaultier died in London, in May 1656), and analyses the direct and indirect contacts between Gaultier and Huygens – the men met in person when Huygens was in England, and they continued to exchange letters on an irregular basis. It was thought that Gaultier visited the Republic in 1630, but this assumption is questioned by Spring; this may have been Ennemond and not Jacques Gaultier. Fred Jacobs analyses Huygens's contacts with French scholars and musicians as documented in the Huygens correspondence. France was of course at the

³ *Driehonderd brieven over muziek van, aan en rond Constantijn Huygens*, ed. Rudolf A. Rasch, 2 vols. (Hilversum, 2008).

time the leading cultural centre of Europe, and it is clear that Huygens was fully aware of this. In his own music, he tried to follow French taste and the newest French fashions as closely as possible. He corresponded with the leading theoretician Marin Mersenne. When he visited France in person he met the adored François Dufaut and attempted to buy Bologna lutes which were in high demand in Paris.

Sadly, of the 800 or so of Huygens's own compositions almost all have disappeared; none of his many works for lute has survived the ravages of time. On the basis of what is left – the *Pathodia sacra et profana*, a volume for voice and lute continuo published in 1647, and one piece for viol solo – as well as later observations of his now lost lute manuscripts and Huygens's own remarks concerning musical taste and preferences in his letters, Jacques Boogaart tries to reconstruct the musical style of Constantijn Huygens as a composer. His tentative conclusion is that Huygens was a gifted melodist, and that his instrumental works probably would have resembled those by Froberger and Dufaut, 'French in style and spirit but also strongly influenced by Italian expressiveness'.

The third and last portion of this book is concerned with lute sources that originated in the Netherlands. As mentioned above most of these are now available in modern publications, though not all have been exhaustively studied to date. The first two decades of the 17th century have yielded a rich harvest of Dutch lute prints and manuscripts, but a later period, roughly the third quarter of the century, is not as barren as it is often perceived to be. It is especially in this later period that new discoveries have been made. Studies of two lute books from the first quarter of the century are included here. François-Pierre Goy shows that four pieces in the Berlin lute manuscript Hove-1 (1615), now conclusively proven to be an autograph of Joachim van den Hove, are in fact not for lute but for lyra-viol. Although all of them have Van den Hove's name attached to them, one is in fact a composition by Alfonso Ferrabosco II, making this manuscript the oldest continental source with music for lyra-viol. Goy comes to the perhaps surprising conclusion that in many instances pieces for this bowed instrument have up to now been considered as lute works.

Simon Groot analyses the music of Adriaen Valerius's *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clanck*, posthumously published in 1626, a history of the Dutch Revolt interspersed with poems and songs. The latter are set to well-known melodies, though unusually for the time the melodies for all the songs are given in staff notation. Each song is accompanied by tablatures for lute and cittern, but Groot makes clear that they were not composed as accompaniments to the songs. Most of these lute and cittern

pieces must have been derived from now-lost prints and manuscripts. Valerius thus allows us a glimpse of the large body of manuscript lute music that must once have circulated in the Netherlands.

The last chapters are devoted to lute music from the mid-century and later. First of all, Rudolf Rasch studies the handwriting in five books for lute, theorbo and solo viol that originated in Utrecht in the 1660s. These are the oldest layer of the so-called Goëss tablature manuscripts. On the basis of palaeographical evidence Rasch concludes that the one hand that is found in all five volumes belongs to Johan van Reede, an important Utrecht nobleman and a friend of Constantijn Huygens. Van Reede was probably also the first owner of the books, which after his death must have come into the possession of the Austrian Goëss family, possibly via Van Reede's granddaughter.

Jan Burgers's discoveries concerning the now-obscure French lutenist Fresneau or Dufresneau who lived in Leiden have been complemented by further evidence that the lute manuscript Kraków 40626, in which many of Fresneau's works are found, is largely an autograph collection by this lutenist. Most of the remaining works of Fresneau's relatively small but fine oeuvre (hitherto consisting of 38 pieces for lute and guitar) are found in the Utrecht manuscript Goëss I mentioned above. From the Leiden administrative sources we learn that Johannes Fresneau was married there in 1644, aged 28, and that he died in April 1670.

Greet Schamp has rediscovered a collection of eight long-forgotten tablatures for lute, guitar, harp and cittern in the Ghent University Library. These books probably originated in the Southern Netherlands around the middle of the century. Especially interesting is Hs. 15, a setting for twelve-course lute of a ballet by Balthasar Richard, for a long time a prominent musician at the Brussels court.

Recently an unknown manuscript source of Dutch lute music was found: a small lute book that had been written around 1659 for Andries van Vossen, a wealthy young man from a prominent family, who was destined to make a career in the government of his hometown, Enkhuizen. These Ghent and Enkhuizen manuscripts once again make clear that dozens of similar collections with music for various plucked instruments must once have circulated, of which only fragments have survived.

Taken together, the chapters in this book provide a broad and many-coloured overview of the lute in the 17th-century Netherlands. Most contributions are concerned with the Golden Age in the Dutch Republic, but the Austrian-controlled Southern Netherlands are also included. Collectively the texts bring us some steps further in our understanding of

the lute in its 17th-century social and cultural context, not only in the Netherlands but certainly also elsewhere in Europe. The lute was an instrument for the aristocracy and burghers, and the examples of Huygens and Van Reede show us how it functioned in higher circles, where it was used to ease otherwise often rigidly formal contacts. Focusing on extant Dutch lute books and manuscripts makes it clear how much more there is to be discovered, especially when research findings can be combined with archival research.

These results were made possible through the efforts of many people. First and foremost we must of course thank the speakers at the symposium and the authors of the chapters; it is their expertise and dedication that have made this volume what it is. A heartfelt word of thanks has to go out to those were responsible for the organisation of the symposium: the members of the committee of the Dutch Lute Society who, under the energetic direction of Ciska Mertens, organised the International Lute Festival, together with the staff of the Utrecht Early Music Festival under the direction of Xavier Vandamme, who delivered the opening speech at the International Lute Symposium. The editors also owe a great deal to Christopher Goodwin, who kindly undertook to proofread the entire manuscript and prepare the finished copy, which has in the process gained greatly from his considerable editorial expertise. Last but not least the editors are grateful to Cambridge Scholars Publishing, who have been not only willing to publish this book but also prepared to wait patiently for the copy to arrive.

I.

THE LUTE IN THE DUTCH GOLDEN AGE: THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS

PSALMS FOR THE LUTE IN THE DUTCH REPUBLIC AND ELSEWHERE¹

LOUIS PETER GRIJP †

Psalms have a special place in the Dutch lute repertory. The Thysius lute book for example contains a large number of settings of psalm melodies. What is more, half of the printed output of Nicolas Vallet, an important composer of lute music in early 17th-century Amsterdam, consists of psalm settings. Vallet's *21 Psalms* (Amsterdam, 1615) is a musical masterwork, and the *Regia Pietas* (Amsterdam, 1620) with all 150 psalms, forms the crown on his oeuvre. As it is the last major lute book devoted to Calvinist psalms anywhere in the world, it is also a crowning volume in the international genre of psalm settings for the lute.

The aim of this contribution is to underpin this claim for Vallet's psalm book, and to re-echo the special attention paid to him in 2013 with the new series of facsimiles edited by Simon Groot,² and Willem Mook's double CD of both secular and sacred works by Vallet.³ I will place Vallet's two psalm books in both their national and international musical contexts. The national context is that of the Dutch Republic, a Calvinist country in which psalms resounded during congregational singing in the churches and from bells ringing from the towers every hour, a country with carillonneurs such as Jacob van Eyck and organists such as Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, for whom psalms were a daily concern. The international context is that of Calvinist music traditions in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Hungary with their shared monophonic Genevan psalter on whose tunes composers

¹ I am much indebted to John Robinson for his kind help, and deeply impressed by his vast knowledge of the renaissance lute repertoire. I also want to thank Jan Burgers whose help went far beyond what one may expect from an editor.

² *Nicolas Vallet, Collected works for lute*, facsimile edn., ed. S. Groot (Haarlem, 2013), 3 vols. This is a sequel to *The complete works of Nicolaes Vallet in facsimile*, ed. L.P. Grijp with J. Burgers and R. Spencer (Utrecht, 1986-92), 4 vols.

³ *Resveillez vous. Nicolaes Vallet – psalmen en luitmuziek / psalms & music for the lute*, performed by Willem Mook (lute), the Nicolaes Vallet Lute Quartet, and vocalists Tineke Roseboom, Kaspar Kröner, Harry van Berne, Jasper Schweppe, and Jelle Draijer, double CD (Spaarne, 2013) [http:// www.spaarnemuziek.nl](http://www.spaarnemuziek.nl).

such as Claude Goudimel, Claude le Jeune and Sweelinck based their polyphonic settings, and lutenists such as Adrian le Roy and Nicolas Vallet their lute settings. With these contexts in mind we can better judge the qualities of Vallet's psalm settings.

The Dutch Context

What was the situation in the Dutch Republic when Vallet published his psalm books in the early 17th century? Calvinism was the official religion. This meant that official public offices – burgomaster, alderman, sheriff and so on – were only accessible to members of the Dutch Reformed Church. Church buildings were only used for Calvinist services. Other religions were not altogether forbidden, but they were not allowed to hold public services in official church buildings, only in private churches, that could not be recognized as such from the outside, to avoid offending the Calvinists. This situation was the result of the Dutch Revolt against the Spanish King, who was the legitimate ruler of the Netherlands in the 16th century. The King's persecution of the followers of Protestantism was one of the main reasons for the Revolt, or Eighty Years War as it is sometimes called (1568-1648). When Vallet's lute books were published this war was at its midpoint, though during these years there was a truce (1609-21). Of all Protestants involved in the Revolt, the Calvinists were the most militant. It was they who eventually seized power.

Calvinism was very audibly present in Dutch public spaces. Bell players, such as Jacob van Eyck in Utrecht, played psalm variations from church towers.⁴ In their public performances, organists too played psalm variations. This might appear somewhat confusing as, in the early 17th century, during Calvinist services no organ playing was allowed, not even to support the singing of psalms by the congregation. This singing must have been chaotic, as many people did not know the psalm tunes very well. One solution was to play psalms on the organ before the service, so that the people became accustomed to the tunes by listening to them. This did not prove very effective, and there was a lot of discussion about using the organ for the accompaniment of congregational singing. Constantijn Huygens, no less, wrote a treatise on this matter, *Gebruyck of ongebruyck van 't orgel in de kercken der Vereenighde Nederlanden* (Use or non-use of the organ in the churches of the United Netherlands) in 1641, making a plea for instrumental accompaniment. In the course of the 17th century,

⁴ R. Van Baak Griffioen, *Jacob van Eyck's Der Flyuten Lust-hof (1644-c.1655)* ([Utrecht], 1991), pp.35, 275-95.

more and more cities allowed the use of the organ during services. The singing itself, although now accompanied by the organ, remained monophonic: no polyphonic singing was allowed. So Sweelinck's beautiful psalm motets were not sung in church, at least not during service. The same holds for Vallet's psalm settings for voice and lute: this was music strictly for the home.

The International Context

Concurrent with the first half of the Dutch Eighty Years War were the French Wars of Religion between the Catholics and Protestants (Huguenots) that took place during the years 1562-1698 and which cost millions of lives. One musical reference to the lute from these bloody and cruel confrontations comes from Anne de Bourg, a Calvinist counsellor of the Parliament of Paris who was imprisoned in the Bastille in 1560. Although 'confined in a cage where he suffered all the discomforts imaginable, he rejoiced always and glorified God, now taking up his lute to sing him psalms, now praising him with his voice'.⁵ Going to death singing was a token of great courage and of strong belief in heaven, and a number of Calvinist, Lutheran, Anabaptist, and Catholic martyrs are reported as doing so,⁶ but De Bourg seems to be the only one who accompanied himself on the lute.

The Monophonic Tradition

There is some irony in the reportedly awful quality of congregational psalmody in Dutch churches. John Calvin wanted new melodies for the psalms, instead of the secular melodies that had been used, for instance in the *Souterliedekens* where the psalm texts were translated into the vernacular and fitted to popular secular tunes. Genevan composers such as Louis Bourgeois and Maître Pierre wrote the new, immaculate psalm tunes in what they thought was a very simple way, using only two note values: whole and half notes. But obviously this was not simple enough for Dutch church congregations. In the end, they gave up rhythmical singing and

⁵ Quoted from *Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées* after *New Grove*, 'Psalms, metrical', ii: 'The European continent', 2 'France and Switzerland', (ii) 'Polyphonic settings'.

⁶ Dozens of examples of singing martyrs can be found in: L.P. Grijp, 'Zingend de dood in', in *Veelderhande liedekens. Het Nederlandse lied tot 1600*, ed. F. Willaert (Leuven, 1997), pp.118-48.

made all notes equally long – the so-called isorhythmic singing practice. ‘Singing on whole notes’, slowly and loudly, continued to be common practice, up until the 20th century. In 1840 a church musician observed that ‘thousands of countrymen are still of the opinion that the Psalms and Hymns are sung correctly and well and to God’s glory, when the faces of the singers glow with burning red and purple colours and the vaults tremble on their foundations’.⁷

In Vallet’s and Sweelinck’s time church congregations sang the psalms in Dutch, translated from the French. These translations by Petrus Datheen were criticized for their supposedly poor poetic quality. Many well-educated people preferred the original French texts by Claude Marot and Théodore de Bèze, for instance when singing the psalms at home. This may be one of the reasons why Sweelinck wrote his psalm motets to the French texts instead of Datheen’s translations. Vallet also published his *21 Psalms* with French texts. In his *Regia Pietas*, he left the choice to the singer, who could sing them in French, Dutch, German or Latin.

The most important merit of Datheen’s psalm book is that he was the first to complete a Dutch translation of the complete Genevan psalter and to have it published, which he did in 1566. This is only four years after the publication of the complete psalter in French. At this time psalm singing was a popular public activity. We know that in 1566, in the city of Ghent, groups of 200 to 300 people marched through the streets at night, loudly singing psalms. Many of them were adolescents, but also adult men and women were seen singing psalms, arm in arm. They learnt the psalms during field preaching; Petrus Datheen once preached to 15,000 people in the open air, near to the town of Poperinge in West Flanders.⁸

Datheen had followed the famous French psalter of Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze, including the melodies – the so-called Genevan psalter. The court poet Marot had started his translations of the psalms at the Catholic French court, where they were sung to secular melodies. Calvin, though not very musical himself, acknowledged the importance of congregational singing during service; the use of the vernacular in the church was one of the cornerstones of the Reformation. Calvin therefore persuaded Marot to continue his work on the psalms in Geneva. Marot

⁷ F. van Lieburg, ‘Reforming Dutch Protestant piety 1780-1920’, in *Piety and modernity. The dynamics of religious reform in Northern Europe 1780-1920*, ed. A. Jarlert (Leuven, 2012), pp.157-85, at p.161, after *Het kerklied. Een geschiedenis*, ed. J. Luth, J. Pasveer, J. Smelik (Zoetermeer, 2001), p.251.

⁸ L.P. Grijp, ‘De honger naar psalmen en schriftuurlijke liederen tijdens de reformatie’, in *Een muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, ed. L.P. Grijp et al. (Amsterdam, 2001), pp.168-73.

translated 50 psalms and the work was completed by the theologist Théodore de Bèze and published in 1562. Together with the monophonic melodies that Calvin commissioned from Genevan musicians such as Louis Bourgeois and Maître Pierre, the Genevan psalter became one of the flagships of Calvinism. Martyrs such as Anne de Bourg and dozens of others died with these psalms on their lips.⁹ Even nowadays the same Genevan psalms are still sung and loved by many thousands of people, not only because of the religious tradition but also for their musical beauty.

Why psalms? As a radical reformer, Calvin believed that only the inspired words of the Bible were suitable for use in worship. Therefore he sought to confine the texts to close translations of the psalms and a few other biblical lyrics, such as the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Canticles of Mary (Magnificat), Simeon (Nunc dimittis), and Zechariah (Benedictus). The Calvinists sang psalms not only in church, but also at home. There they confined themselves at first to psalms, and avoided singing other religious songs, especially to secular melodies in which the old, secular words might be recalled in spite of the new more edifying lyrics. But in the 1620s, shortly after Vallet's and Sweelinck's last psalm settings, Dutch Calvinists such as Dirck Rafaelszoon Camphuysen and Bernardus Busschoff started to write and sing new religious lyrics written to popular tunes.¹⁰ After about 1620 the spell of the psalms seems to have faded.

The Polyphonic Tradition¹¹

When singing psalms at home, Calvinists with musical talent preferred settings for several voices, such as polyphonic motets and chansons. French composers such as Certon, Monable, Bourgeois, Janequin, Jambé de Fer, Ferrier, Goudimel, l'Estocart and Le Jeune provided four- and five part settings. Sometimes they followed the original monophonic psalm melodies very closely, in note-against-note settings, and elsewhere in *contrepoint fleuri*, that is with the cantus firmus in one voice against a more polyphonic texture. But there were also motet-like settings or compositions in which fragments of the psalm melodies occurred in

⁹ Grijp, 'Zingend de dood in'.

¹⁰ D.R. Camphuysen, *Stichtelycke rymen* ([Hoorn], 1624); B. Busschoff, *Nieuwe lof-sangen, en geestelijke liedekens, c.1620-5*. For the latter, see E. Stronks, *Stichten of schitteren* (Houten, 1996), p.25.

¹¹ Most of the overview in this paragraph is based on the relevant articles in the *New Grove Online*, such as 'Psalms, metrical, ii: The European continent', 'Goudimel, Claude', and 'Le Jeune, Claude'.

different voices. Again, all these settings for more than one voice were not to be sung in the church, but only at home.

Claude Goudimel (1514/20-1572) for instance set the psalms in a simple four-part homophonic style, note-against-note, so that the texts could still be easily understood. The psalm melody was usually placed in the tenor voice, somewhat hidden under the soprano and alto lines. The Parisian publishers Adrian le Roy and Pierre Ballard published a first edition with 83 such psalm settings in 1562, the same year that the entire monophonic Genevan psalter for the first time became available in print. Goudimel hurried to complete the work, and in 1564 the entire psalter appeared, in the customary four partbooks, that is, with each voice part having its own separate book. These simple polyphonic (or rather homophonic) settings became very popular and were also published in other languages, including Dutch (translated by Petrus Datheen, Leiden 1620) and German (translated by Ambrosius Lobwasser, Leipzig, 1573 and hundreds of later editions). But Goudimel was not yet finished with psalm melodies. He began a new series of settings, this time in a more elaborate, polyphonic style. This second series appeared in 1568 under exactly the same title as the previous one: *Les cent cinquante pseumes de David, nouvellement mis en musique à quatre parties* (The hundred-and-fifty psalms of David, newly set to music in four parts). Goudimel died in Lyons in the days following the infamous St Bartholomew's night or Parisian Blood Wedding of 1572, in which thousands of Calvinists were killed.

The most famous French composer who set Genevan psalms was Claude Le Jeune (1528/30-1600). He served as *maître des enfants* ([music] master of the children) at the court of François, Duke of Anjou, brother of King Henry III. Because Le Jeune had signed a confession of faith hostile to the Catholic League, things became too dangerous for him in Paris when in 1590 the city was besieged by the Protestant prince Henry of Navarre and he decided to flee. But Le Jeune was detained at the city gate, and the music manuscripts he had with him would have been tossed into the fire, had not his Catholic colleague and friend Jacques Mauduit taken a stand for him. Mauduit convinced the officer on duty that there was nothing heretical about the music. In 1596, Le Jeune was back in Paris and even named *maistre compositeur ordinaire de la musique de nostre chambre* (master composer in ordinary of our chamber music) to Henry of Navarre, now King Henry IV, who had in the meantime converted to Catholicism.

Le Jeune set the whole psalter twice: once in three parts, in virtuosic counterpoint, and once in simple note-against-note settings, in four and

five parts, comparable to those by Goudimel. These simple settings became much loved by Calvinists in the 17th century, including those in the Dutch Republic. They appeared in Dutch translations in Amsterdam (1629 and 1633) and in Schiedam (1665).¹²

After Claude Le Jeune's death in 1600, almost no polyphonic settings of the Genevan psalter were composed or published in France, where Calvinist musicians with a Catholic polyphonic training were dying out. The torch passed to Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562-1621), organist of the Oude Kerk (Old Church) in Amsterdam. This city had gone over to the Protestant side in May 1578, when Sweelinck was about 16 years old. Sweelinck also set the entire Genevan psalter for several voices. It became a lifetime's work, because he composed extended polyphonic settings for four, five, six, seven, or eight voices, often including several stanzas. The music appeared in four books, published between 1606 and 1621. In using the French versifications of Marot and De Bèze Sweelinck was choosing to link into the international tradition for these works. I have already mentioned the problems connected with the unsatisfying Dutch translations by Datheen. Moreover Dutch-language polyphony was a poor genre with a small market. Nonetheless, other composers did set the psalter in Dutch, such as David Janszoon Padbrué of Amsterdam (1601), Cornelis van Schoonhoven of Delft (1624) and Lucas van Lenninck of Deventer (1649). Almost all this music has been lost.

The Lute Settings: French Publications

There are many lute settings of Calvinist psalms, just as there are many lute settings of other religious repertoire, whether Catholic or Protestant. The first printed psalms in tablature appear around 1550 in books by Francesco Bianchini (for the lute, published in Lyons) and Simon Gorlier (for four-course guitar, in Paris): see the Appendix below, which gives an overview of the lute sources with Genevan psalm settings, both printed and in manuscript. While these early tablature books contained a few psalm settings amidst secular songs and dances, in 1552 the lutenist, composer and music publisher Adrian le Roy devoted a whole book to lute psalms: *Tiers livre de tabulature de luth, contenant vingt & un Pseaulmes*. The 21 settings are for soprano voice and lute. The voice sings the cantus

¹² Rudolf Rasch, *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1572-1795* Hoofdstuk Acht: De Kerken, i: Reformatorische richtingen, p.11, downloadable (Mijn Werk op Internet, Deel Een) at <http://www.let.uu.nl/~Rudolf.Rasch/personal/Republiek/Republiek08-Kerken1.pdf>.

firmus, which is doubled by the top voice of the lute part, so that the settings can also be played as instrumental pieces. A different technique is employed in Guillaume Morlaye's *Premier livre de psalmes, mis en musique par maistre Pierre Certon [...] reduitz en tablature de leut*, 1554, which contains lute settings of 12 psalms and the Cantic of Simeon set for four voices by Pierre Certon (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. Morlaye 1554, f.8r: *Pseaulme II. Quare fremuerunt gentes.* / *La voix, a sur la premiere.* Psalm 2; the psalm melody is in the tenor of the lute intabulation, which represents Morlaye's altus, tenor and bass. On the vocal staff the superius of Morlaye's setting à 4; it starts with the tablature letter *a* on the first string.

Again the psalms are arranged for voice and lute, but now the voice sings the superius part of Certon's setting, and the lower voices are played on the lute, including the tenor in which Certon had laid down the psalm melody. This tends to mean that in Morlaye's settings the psalm melody does not come out very clearly.

Another important edition of lute psalms seems to have been published by le Roy and Ballard in 1562: *Livre de Tablature sur le luth par Adrian le Roy d'Octante Trois pseumes de David [...] composés à quatre parties par Cl. Goudimel* (i.e. 83 psalms set for four voices by Goudimel, arranged for the lute by Adrian le Roy). At least this is the title as it is

given in bibliographies;¹³ the book itself has been lost. The title is intriguing enough, because we know that in the same year 1562 Le Roy and Ballard also published 83 psalm settings in four parts by Goudimel, only the bass part of which has been preserved. This suggests that Le Roy must have been working simultaneously on the lute arrangements of Goudimel's vocal originals that he was preparing for print. It shows Le Roy's eagerness to be up to date with psalms for the lute. We can only speculate on the layout of the book, with or without a vocal part to go with the tablature.

Five years later, in 1567, Le Roy published the complete psalter for lute. This edition we do have, or to be more precise: the title page is in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris:

Les Pseaumes de David, composez en musique à quatre parties, par Cl. Goudimel. Nouvellement mis en tablature sur le leut par Adrian Le Roy. A Paris. Par Adrian Le Roy & Robert Ballard, Imprimeurs du Roy. 1567. Avec privilege de sa majesté.

(The psalms of David, set to music for four voices by Cl. Goudimel, recently put in tablature on the lute by Adrian le Roy, in Paris. [Published] by Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard, printers to the King. 1567. With privilege of His Majesty.)

The rest of the book, from p.20 on, is in the Conservatoire National de Région de Rueil-Malmaison, in the western suburbs of Paris. It is the subject of a thorough dissertation by Jean Michel Noailly.¹⁴ The psalm tune is again in the top part, as it was in Le Roy's 21 psalms of 1552, but now the vocal part has been left out, probably to save space.

Le Roy's 150 psalms for lute of 1567 followed rather closely upon the publication of Goudimel's four-part setting of the complete psalter in 1564, again published by Le Roy and Ballard. This publication marks the end of a period of rapid exploration and exploitation of the polyphonic and instrumental possibilities of the Genevan psalter. After 1567, it would be 45 years before another complete psalter for the lute would see the light of day. However, this publication, *Cythara sacra* by Matthias Reyman (Cologne 1613), belonged to a German tradition, as we will see below.

¹³ E.g. H.M. Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge MA, 1965), [1562]; P. Pidoux, *Le psautier Huguenot du XVIe siècle* (Basel, 1962) ii, p.137 (no.62/V); Noailly 1988 (see next footnote), ii, p.80 (no.66).

¹⁴ J.M. Noailly, *Claude Goudimel, Adrian le Roy et les C.L. pseaumes, Paris, 1562-1567* (diss. Université de St Etienne, 1988), 2 vols.

Apart from Le Roy's lute arrangements, the instrumental exploration of the Genevan psalter included arrangements for four-course guitar; such as *Le troysiesme livre* by Simon Gorlier (1551) mentioned above, and Gregoire Brayssing's *Quart livre de tabulature de guiterre* (1553) with a handful of psalms among the fantasies and chansons. Adrian le Roy's *Second livre de cistre* (1564) begins with half a dozen psalm arrangements for cittern, followed by over 30 dances. Outside Paris, A.F. Paladin published a *Tablature de luth, ou sont contenus plusieurs psalmes & chansons spirituelles* (Lyon 1562). This book has been lost but according to the title contained an exclusively religious repertoire.

French and Dutch Manuscripts

In the University Library of Uppsala two French lute manuscripts are preserved each containing a single psalm setting amidst other repertoire (Uppsala 76b, c.1570-90, and Uppsala 412, c.late 16th century). A third French manuscript (Uppsala 87, c.1560-70) includes nine psalms and The Articles of Faith, based on the four-part vocal settings of Pierre Certon (1555).

Dutch settings of psalms and canticles can be found in manuscripts too, most of them in the famous Thysius lute book, written by a Leiden student who would later become a Calvinist minister: Adriaen Joriszoon Smout (1578/79-1646). For a full description of its contents I refer the reader to the facsimile edition published in 2008 with its detailed lists of pieces, cognates and concordances.¹⁵ Among all kinds of other music – 'serious' dance forms, intabulations of polyphonic chansons, *villanelle*, madrigals, motets, merry dances and song tunes – at the heart of the manuscript (ff.233v-315v) there is a section with an impressive number of psalm arrangements of all kinds. The core of this section is a numerical series of psalm settings, though sometimes skipping one or more psalms in their order. They were written in the earliest phase of copying (called 'A' by the editors) in a characteristic style, probably arranged by a single, anonymous lute master (Fig. 2).

¹⁵ *Het Luitboek van Thysius / The Thysius Lute Book, facsimile edition of Leiden, Bibliotheca Thysiana 1666*, Muziek uit de Republiek / Music from the Dutch Republic, Special projects ii, with introduction J.W.J. Burgers, L.P. Grijp, concordances L.P. Grijp, S. Groot, J.H. Robinson, (Leiden and Utrecht, 2009), 3 vols.

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The image shows a page from a lute book with handwritten musical notation. The notation is on five-line staves with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The music is written in a lute tablature style, with letters (a, b, c, d, e, f, g) placed on the lines and spaces. Above the staves, there are various musical symbols and letters, including 'P', 'B', and '1'. The notation is handwritten and appears to be from a lute book.

Fig. 2. Leiden 1666 (the Thysius lute book), f.281r: *Psalm*[m] 116. 74. Psalms 116 and 74 are sung to the same melody.

The upper voice invariably has the melody, and the most diminutions compared to the other voices. The melody is in principle accompanied with homophonic chords, the constituent voices of which are sometimes linked with figuration. The harmonisations are not based on Goudimel's settings à 4 (as they are in, for instance, many German psalm arrangements, as we will see below), but even so are musically attractive. These settings must have been made especially for the lute, as their style is idiomatic. The same cannot be said of all of the remaining psalm settings found in the Thysius book, including the intabulations of polyphonic settings by Sweelinck, Goudimel and Le Jeune. There are also Sweelinck psalm settings that are not based on vocal models. His setting of psalm 5 for example seems to be a transcription (in view of the rich chords and the many corrections) of a now lost arrangement for another instrument, maybe a keyboard instrument.¹⁶ Sweelinck's two settings of psalm 23 may also be transcriptions, even if they are slightly more idiomatic than psalm 5.

Most of these secondary arrangements seem to have been added later between the items of the original series of simple homophonic psalms, which were notated in a rather spacious layout in an early stage of compilation. This early layer of copying probably occurred shortly after 1595, when Smout matriculated at Leiden University. Smout may have planned for the later additions, most of which can easily be found in the manuscript because of their numerical order.

Apart from the Thysius lute book, very few lute manuscripts have been preserved from the Dutch Republic, as Jan Burgers has pointed out.¹⁷ Recently, Burgers discovered a reference to a lost manuscript by the important Dutch Calvinist, scholar and politician Philips Marnix van St. Aldegonde (1540-98). This lost manuscript is referred to as: *Psalmi & cantilenae variae à Ph. Marnixio conscriptae & testudini accomodatae* (Psalms and various songs intabulated for the lute by Ph. Marnix van St. Aldegonde) in the auction catalogue of Marnix's vast library.¹⁸ The catalogue does not tell us which psalms and songs Marnix arranged, but we do know that he wrote a metrical Dutch translation of the complete

¹⁶ Although this setting is also not very idiomatic for keyboard, at least not in this arrangement for lute (personal communication from Ton Koopman).

¹⁷ Jan W.J. Burgers, *The Lute in the Dutch Golden Age: Musical Culture in the Netherlands 1580-1670* Amsterdam Studies in the Dutch Golden Age (Amsterdam, 2013), p.104.

¹⁸ Ibidem, pp.34-36.

Genevan psalter (published in 1580),¹⁹ which was regarded as superior to that by Datheen and gained some popularity in intellectual circles. Probably it was the Genevan psalms that Marnix had arranged for the lute.

Of the handful of foreign manuscripts with apparent Dutch connections that Burgers mentions in his book, two contain psalm settings. The manuscript Berlin Mus. Ms. 40143 was notated by several people around 1600 in Cologne, possibly in the direct vicinity of the famous lutenist Jean-Baptiste Besard, who lived in the city and published his *Thesaurus harmonicus* there (1603). The manuscript contains several psalm settings, five of which are attributed to Besard and were published in the *Thesaurus*.²⁰ In the manuscript the first of these, psalm 24, bears the date ‘A^o 1601. 26 Augusti’. In principle, Besard laid the psalm tune in the superius and embellished it; in some cases the superius goes somewhat higher, while the tune appears in the altus. In psalm 42, this procedure makes it difficult to recognize the psalm melody, a problem that was solved by writing capital letters indicating the solmisation syllables at the places where the notes of the psalm appear in the tablature.

The pieces by the Frenchman Besard tell us little about Dutch psalm settings for the lute, but in the Berlin MS they are followed somewhat later in the manuscript by a similar setting called ‘Lofsang Mariae’, which is Dutch for the Canticle of Mary (Magnificat), and that might indicate that this piece was written out by a Dutchman. This little sacred series concludes with a setting of psalm 103 in a similar style, anonymous but dated in the same manner as the first psalm in the section: ‘A^o 1603 26 Decembris’.²¹

Another foreign manuscript with Dutch connections is the Dallis lute book, which was started in 1583 by a Cambridge student who had lute lessons with Dr Thomas Dallis. Here, settings of Dutch psalm and

¹⁹ *Het Boeck der Psalmen Davids. Wt de Hebreische spraecke in Nederduytschen dichte, op de ghewoonlijcke Francoische wyse ouerghesett, Door Philips Van Marnix Heere van St. Aldegonde, etc.* (The Book of David's Psalms, translated from the Hebrew language into Dutch verses, on the usual French melodies, by Philips van Marnix, Lord of St. Aldegonde, etc.) (Antwerp, 1580; second edn. Antwerp, 1591).

²⁰ In order of appearance: psalms 24, 42, 128, 23, and 2. Between psalms 24 and 42 there is an anonymous setting of ‘Les dix Commandemens de Dieu’ in more or less the same style and handwriting (f.52r). It has been attributed to Besard in the C.N.R.S. edition of his solo lute works, without further comment, see: *Oeuvres pour le luth seul de Jean-Baptiste Besard*, ed. A. Souris, M. Rollin (Paris, 1981), p.171.

²¹ This setting of psalm 103 was not included in the C.N.R.S. edition of Besard's works for solo lute, notwithstanding the corresponding handwriting and dating.

canticles are found dotted around the manuscript, between dances and songs, chansons and other intabulations of vocal music.²² On p.5 there is a setting of the Canticle of Mary, entitled ‘De Lofsa[n]ck Marie’, with a slightly embellished melody in the superius. The song is supplied with solmisation syllables for a singer, who is able to read the lyrics underneath the tablature staff: ‘My[n] sil maect groot den heer / Myn geest v[e]rhuegt hem seer / in mynen god vol trouwen’ etc. – this is the commonly used translation by Datheen (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3. Dublin 410/I (the Dallis lute book), p.5, detail: *De Lofsa[n]ck Marie* (the Canticle of Mary with the Dutch lyrics written below the tablature staff and solmisation syllables above) and *Onse Vad[er]* (The Lord's Prayer).

This Canticle is immediately followed by a simple homophonic ‘Our Father’, again with its Dutch title (‘Onse Vad[er]’), but this time without syllables or lyrics. On p.34 another Dutch text can be found: ‘heft op u’, the incipit of Datheen’s translation of the Ten Commandments (‘Heft op uw hart, opent uw ooren’), at the beginning of a very basic setting of this

²² For an inventory see J. Ward, ‘The Lute Books of Trinity College, Dublin’, *Lute Society Journal* ix (1967), pp.17-40.

tune. It is an oddity of the Dallis lute book that someone seems to have notated this short tune on empty staves throughout the manuscript. This occurs a few times with its first words in French ('Leve le coeur'), once with the Dutch incipit just quoted, and a dozen times without a title at all, sometimes just giving a fragment of the piece. It looks as if this scribe was obsessed with the Ten Commandments. Apart from this particularity, on p.109 we find a setting of psalm 4 with the musical phrases nicely linked with small interludes. From p.156 onwards there is a short series of psalms: 23, 27, 15 (four settings, one of which is probably Dutch and has solmisation syllables), psalm 5 (with Marot's incipit 'Aux p[ar]oles que je veux dire'), and psalms 42 and 81 (both with Datheen's incipit: 'Als een hert' and 'Singt den heere bly').

The piece entitled 'Psal. 103 belg. vet. Languir me fais' in the Dallis manuscript is of special interest. This must refer to *Souterliedeken* 103. The *Souterliedeken*s, the first complete psalter translated into a European vernacular language, were published in Antwerp in 1540 with monophonic notation for all secular tunes to which the psalms were set in Dutch rhyme. After 1566, when Datheen's translation to the Genevan (Calvinist) tunes appeared, the *Souterliedeken*s remained popular among the Dutch Mennonites for quite a while. Sometimes they referred to the *Souterliedeken*s as 'the old Psalm book'.²³ The scribe of the Dallis lute book does the same: 'belg. vet.' has to be read as 'belgicus vetus', Latin for 'the old Dutch'.²⁴ Thus the heading of the piece is: 'The old Dutch psalm 103, to the tune of Languir me fais'. Sure enough, the tune of *Souterliedeken* 103 is Sermisy's chanson 'Languir me fais'. But on closer inspection, one discovers that the notation in the Dallis lute book is actually a lute setting of the chanson 'Languir me fais', with that title, and that the reference to the old psalm is a later addition.²⁵ A similar inscription is found on p.214 of the Dallis lute book, in the margin of a lute setting of the popular Dutch tune 'Den lustelijcken mey', also known

²³ For instance, in tune indications in Mennonite songbooks such as David Joris, *Een Geestelijck Liedt-Boecxken* [Haarlem?, c.1600?]: 'Int oude Psalmboek van Nievelt, Psal. 52. Int herte spreekt een zot', referring to Willem van Zuylen van Nijeveldt, the author/translator of the *Souterliedeken*s; T.C. Honig, *Schriftuerlijck Lied-boecxken* [Amsterdam 1591 or 1592]: 'int oude Psalmboekcken die Loffsanck Symeons'; L. Clock, *Veelderhande Schriftuerlicke Nieuwe Liedeken* (Haarlem, 1598): 'van den 70. Psalm, in d'oude Psalmboek: In u staet al mijn hoep, O Heer'.

²⁴ Up to now this has been read by scholars as 'belg. bef.', which could not be explained.

²⁵ This is affirmed by an almost exact concordance in the Thysius lute book (f.165), also marked 'Languir me fais', but without any reference to the *souterliedeken*.

as ‘Den mey staet vrolijk in sinen tijt’, to which *Souterliedeken* 73 was sung. The incipit of the *souterliedeken* has been written in the margin and underneath the beginning of the lute piece: ‘Waero[m] wilt ghy ons v[er]laten’, and in the margin the following: ‘Psal 73. vetus’ (the old psalm 73). This piece introduces another Dutch-influenced section in the manuscript, containing settings of the Genevan psalm tunes 5 and 6 by ‘Mr Dallis’, two notations of ‘Almande Prince’ (taken from Adriaenssen’s *Pratum musicum* of 1584, behind whose neutral title the tune of the political song ‘Wilhelmus van Nassouwen’ is hidden, later the national anthem), a notation of ‘Almande Slaepen gaen’ (also from Adriaenssen 1584), psalm 81 with its first word in Dutch (‘Singt’), and a lute setting of the Canticle of Simeon with Datheen’s entire first stanza scribbled under the tablature (f.235). All in all, there are enough Dutch elements to affirm Burgers’s assumption ‘that Dallis had connections with one or more Calvinists from the Netherlands, who provided him with some sacred lute music’ – although one of these ‘Calvinists’ may have been a Mennonite, who still remembered singing the *Souterliedeken*s. One of Dallis’s Dutch contacts must have written, flawlessly in a confident hand, the words of the abovementioned canticles directly into the lute book.

The song ‘Cur mundus militat’ is another special case. The original medieval Latin appears twice in Dallis’s book: it was written on p.210 with its melody in mensural notation, accompanied by a lute part in tablature, and again on p.234 without notation, probably by an Englishman²⁶:

Cur mund[us] militat sub vanae gloria?
 Cui[us] prosperitas e[st] transitoria:
 Tam citò labitur eius potentia,
 quàm vasa figuli, quae sunt fragilia.²⁷

On p.211 there is a lute setting titled ‘Cur mundus militat’ with a melody different from the setting on p.210. At the bottom of the page there is a Dutch translation. There are several corrections in this text, so that it seems that it was more or less translated on the spot:

waero[m] dient daertsen o mensch de weerelt eeuwelick
 wiens macht valt in de gront even so lichtelick
 wiens voorspoet so men siet is al v[er]ga[n]click
 Als een swack eerde vat twelc is seer breckelick.²⁸

²⁶ This scribe also added English poems on pp.233 and 234.

²⁷ Translation: ‘Why struggles the world for vainglory? Its prosperity is short-lived: as rapidly fall its powers as the vessels of the potter, which are fragile’.

²⁸ Transcription kindly provided by Jan Burgers.

Three other Dutch translations of ‘Cur mundus militat’ are known from printed songbooks, all by Catholic authors.²⁹ The translation in the Dallis manuscript is unique, to my best knowledge, as is the Calvinist context – although Vanity and Vainglory were popular themes amongst Calvinists.

To avoid a misunderstanding, the Lowther lute book, another English lute manuscript, should be mentioned in this context.³⁰ This was begun in 1637 by Christopher Lowther (1611–44), a young English nobleman who was living in Hamburg in that year.³¹ He had signed a contract with an unnamed ‘Dutchman’, a teacher who would give him daily tuition on the lute. Some space has been left open for this person’s name. Obviously, the teacher was supposed to write pieces in the lute book during the lessons. There are already titles written for sections, but in most cases the following tablature pages have been left empty. Unfortunately Lowther’s father died in England the very day that he began his lute book and he presumably returned shortly afterwards to his homeland. This may explain the unfinished state of the book.

Two sections, headed ‘Calveniste French Psalmes’ and ‘Lutheran French Psalmes’, remain unused, but the section ‘Leutheran Dutch Psalmes’ (ff.32–40) contains lute settings of ‘Eine Morgenlied / Ich dank dir lieber Herre’, ‘Aus meinem Herzen gründe–ein morgen gesange’ and the well-known ‘Wie leuchtet uns die Morgensterne’: all Lutheran chorales, cited in High German, definitely not in Dutch. Similarly a section titled ‘Calveniste Duch Psalmes’ (sic) starts on f.42, containing just two pieces: ‘Ich hab mein sacht [Gott heimgestellt]’ and ‘Wie nach einer Wasser quellen’. Only the latter is a psalm, and both titles are, again, in High German.

Nowhere in the manuscript is there any trace of the Dutch language or specific Dutch repertoire. Moreover Lowther never uses the word ‘German’ in his manuscript. This leads to the suspicion that where he wrote ‘Dutch’ he actually meant ‘German’. This hypothesis is affirmed by the *Oxford English Dictionary*, in which the first entry for the word ‘Dutchman’ gives ‘A German; a man of Teutonic race. Obs. exc. locally in

²⁹ ‘Waerom volght ghy den krijgh’, in Antwerp songbooks by Th. Sailly (1595) and Carolus Scribani (1621); ‘Hoe steekt de werelt dus’ by J.B. Stalpart van der Wiele (1631); ‘Wat strijdt de werelt doch’ by S. Theodotus (1638), all with different tunes from those in the Dallis MS, although sometimes there is rhythmical kinship. For details, see <http://www.liederenbank.nl>.

³⁰ Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Ms. Mus. 688 (Christopher Lowther lute book, 1637). RISM BVII, p. 68–9.

³¹ See Gwilym Beechey, ‘Christopher Lowther’s Lute Book’, *The Galpin Society Journal* xxiv (1971), pp.51–59. See also John Robinson’s list of cognates at <http://w1.bnu.fr/smt/0180.htm>.

U.S.’, and is attested with quotes from among others William Shakespeare, in his *Much Ado about Nothing* (1600). I cannot but conclude that the Lowther MS does not have a Dutch connection at all (in the modern sense of the word), and that Lowther’s lute teacher in Hamburg was a German!

Genevan Psalms in Germany

The search for Dutch psalms in English manuscripts has unintentionally brought us to Germany with its two Protestant confessions: Lutheranism and Calvinism.

Although psalm texts inspired much of Martin Luther’s song writing, psalms never took such a conspicuous place in Lutheran hymnody as they did in the Reformed (that is Calvinist) church. Lutherans were proud of their rich liturgical repertoire with a crucial place given to chorales sung by the congregation, although their choral books had always included a significant portion of metrical psalms. But they did not follow the Calvinists’ exclusive interest in psalms. Robin Leaver even cites the front of an organ in Nordhausen with a Lutheran warning against Calvinist ‘Geschrey’ (shouting, instead of singing). Nevertheless, a complete metrical psalter in rhyme using the Genevan melodies was produced by the Lutheran theologist Ambrosius Lobwasser (1515-85), and first published in Leipzig in 1573. This became an enormous ‘hit’, with some 800 reprints down to 1800. Lobwasser’s very singable translation became standard in the German Reformed Church, where it continued to be sung well into the 18th century. Lobwasser’s psalm translations also found their way into many a Lutheran chorale book.³²

This simultaneous use of Lobwasser’s psalter in two confessions does not make it easy to discern Genevan from Lutheran psalms in German instrumental sources. Gary Beckman’s dissertation *The Sacred Lute* (2007) is mainly devoted to German lute intabulations of sacred songs, and deals with this problem in some detail. He states that from the beginning of the Lutheran musical tradition, Luther paraphrased psalm texts to create new musical works. These works, however, were not identified as psalms by their psalm number, but by their text incipit. For example, Luther’s ‘Ein feste Burg’ is based on the text of psalm 46, but it does not appear in the chorale books as ‘Psalm 46’. Luther made no distinction between

³² Concerning the influence of Lobwasser’s psalter using Genevan melodies on Lutheran church music, see Robin A. Leaver, ‘Genevan Psalm Tunes in the Lutheran Chorale Tradition’, in *Der Genfer Psalter und seine Rezeption in Deutschland, der Schweiz und den Niederlanden: 16.-18. Jahrhundert*, ed. E. Grunewald, H. P. Jürgens, J.R. Luth (Tübingen, 2004), pp.145-67.

sacred song with paraphrased psalm texts, contrafacta or newly composed sacred poetry. He simply called this new sacred repertory either *geistliche* or *evangelische Lieder* ('religious' or 'evangelical songs').³³ At the end of his book Beckman gives two extensive appendices that list all chorales and psalms from German sources or with German text incipits for which he could find a lute setting. These range from the beginnings of the Reformation in the 1520s to 1678, the year in which Esaias Reusner published his *Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder*, a hundred chorale melodies set for the baroque lute.

Lute Psalms Printed in Germany

As far as Germany is concerned I will limit myself in this contribution to some important German psalm collections. The most important is Matthias Reyman's *Cythara sacra* (1613), which has lute settings of all 150 psalms and some canticles. Though Polish-born, Matthias Reyman lived and worked in Leipzig and his book was published by Gerhard Grevenbruch in Cologne in 1613 (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4. Reyman 1613, f.A2v: *Psalmus* 2. A simple intabulation of Goudimel's setting à 4, and the beginning of the *Variatio*.

³³ Gary Dean Beckman, *The Sacred Lute. Intabulated Chorales from Luther's Age to the beginnings of Pietism* (diss. University of Texas at Austin, 2007), pp.27-8.

Cologne was a Catholic city, but Grevenbruch had made a name for himself with prestigious lute editions such as Adrian Denss's *Florilegium* in 1594 and Jean Baptiste Besard's *Thesaurus harmonicus* in 1603. The only extant copy of *Cythara sacra* was lost after World War II, when all we knew about it was from a short description given in R. Wustmann's music history of Leipzig, published in 1909.³⁴ Then, more than 30 years after the War, the copy was found again in Krakow.³⁵

The *Cythara sacra* contains two settings for all 150 psalms, plus two canticles (The Ten Commandments and the Canticum of Simeon). Each psalm has a simple chordal setting followed by a more embellished version. Both versions are based on Goudimel's homophonic settings of 1564, or rather on an edition of Lobwasser's German psalter; many of these included the music of Goudimel's four-part settings. Reyman moved the psalm melody to the superius, whereas Goudimel had set it in the tenor: an effective way of making the tune clearly audible without losing Goudimel's beautiful harmonies. In the 'variatio', as it is called, Reyman divided the whole notes into smaller notes, up to sixteenths or semiquavers, in a rather traditional way, maintaining Goudimel's harmonies. This somewhat mechanical procedure is followed throughout the whole book. The psalms are only identified by their number.

Wustmann noted that a number of the settings are marked 'M.H.L.', which monogram he identified as belonging to Moritz Landgraf von Hessen (1572-1632), the famous patron of arts. In 1605 Moritz had converted from Lutheranism to Calvinism. This caused a lot of trouble, because Moritz's subjects were required to follow their prince's conversion, according to the German principle *Cuius regio eius religio* (whose realm, his religion) – although this principle constituted an accord between Lutherans and Catholics, in which Calvinists were not involved. Moritz was an incompetent Landgrave who ruined the economy of his country, but he had much talent for and interest in music. He discovered Heinrich Schütz's talent at a very young age and offered John Dowland a

³⁴ R. Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs* (Berlin, 1909), p.349, also showing fragments of Reyman's setting of psalm 46.

³⁵ The only extant copy of Reyman's *Cythara sacra*, which had disappeared from the Preußischen Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, was located in the late 1980s at the Biblioteka Jagiellonska in Krakow, call number Mus.ant.pract. R 400, as mentioned in A. Patalas, *Catalogue of early music prints from the collections of the former Preußische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, kept at the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow* (Krakow, 1999), under no.1672. I am much indebted to John Robinson and Tim Crawford, who kindly provided me with a set of photocopies of this source.

position at his court, a position that Dowland refused. Moritz also composed himself, not only polyphonic works but also his own melodies for the Lobwasser psalter.

Now that we have the (nearly) complete *Cythara* once again, we can better judge Moritz's contribution to the book. It appears to be of an indirect nature. Moritz had limited his contribution to the Lobwasser psalter to those melodies that were used twice or more within the Genevan psalter. For instance, the melody for psalm 36 ('Du maling le meschant vouloir / Aus des gottlosen thun und werck') is normally also used for psalm 68 ('Que Dieu se monstre seulement / Gott mach sich auf, bezeig gewalt'). In this case, Moritz composed a new melody for psalm 68, arranged for four voices in a homophonic style, reminiscent of Goudimel. His new melodies were included in a special edition of Lobwasser's psalter (Kassel, 1607), published by order of the Landgrave himself who resided in Kassel.³⁶

It is this edition that Reymann must have used for his *Cythara sacra*. He arranged them following a similar process as for the Goudimel settings: one simple chordal setting with the melody in the superius,³⁷ using Moritz's harmonies in this case, followed by an embellished version. According to this reading of the sources, Moritz, who played the lute himself and composed music for it, did not write the lute arrangements of the 'M.L.H.' psalms marked in *Cythara*.³⁸ Moritz's name is mentioned nowhere in the *Cythara*, except in the monograms.

Four years after Reymann's complete psalter for the lute another one was published: *Testudo spiritalis, continens Psalmos Davidis, juxta melodias Gallicas sive Lobwasseri ad testudinis usum non ineleganti*

³⁶ Full title according to DKL I = RISM/B/VIII/1: Psalmen Davids / Nach Frantzösischer Melodey und Reymen art in Teut- / sche reymen artig gebracht / Durch / Ambrosium Lobwasser / J.U.D. / Auff befehl / Des Durchleuchti- / gen Hochgebornen Fürsten and Her- / ren, Herrn Moritzen, Landgrafen zu Hessen, etc. / itzo auff's neue gedruckt: / Und haben ihre F. Gn. die übrige Psalmen so nicht eigene Melodias gehabt, / mit andern lieblichen Melodiis *per otium* / gezieret, und mit vier stimmen *componiret*, wel- / che in der Christlichen Kirchen beyds zu singen und auff allerley Instrumenten / zugebrauchen. / W / P / Gedruckt zu Cassel durch Wilhelm Wessel, Anno M. DC. VII.

³⁷ Reymann used Moritz's superius for the upper voice in his lute settings.

³⁸ Not having access to the printed *Psalmen Davids* of 1607, described in footnote 36, I base this conclusion on comparison of the 'M.L.H.' pieces in *Cythara* with the incipits of a handwritten collection of Moritz's psalms in four partbooks, described as 4^o Ms. Mus. 95 in C. Gottwald, *Die Handschriften der Gesamthochschulbibliothek Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardische Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel*, Band 6: *Manuscripta musica* (Wiesbaden, 1967), pp.604-18.

modo accommodatos per Daniele Laelium (The spiritual lute, containing the Psalms of David, set to the French or Lobwasser's melodies arranged for the lute in a not inelegant way by Daniel Laelius). Like Reymann, Laelius had studied law; he took his doctoral degree in Basel in 1606.³⁹ Laelius had been working as a lawyer in Bremen and wrote the dedication of his psalm book in Neumarkt in der Ober-Pfalz (Upper Palatinate), near Nuremberg. In the early modern period the Electoral Palatinate was one of the major centres of Calvinism in Europe. However, Laelius had his book published in 1617 in the Netherlands, in the city of Arnhem. According to his own statement, he had already started work on his psalm book when he learnt about Reymann's book.

Laelius wrote one setting of each psalm melody, using rapid figuration in which divisions of the whole notes can be divided, up to thirty-second notes. Like Reymann he used the harmonies of Goudimel, but confined himself to just one ornamented setting per psalm, without a preceding chordal statement. This must have made his book less accessible to amateur lutenists. In the cases where one tune is used for several psalm texts, he gives a reference to the other psalm number rather than arranging it anew. For instance, Laelius skips psalm 68, referring to his setting of psalm 36, which is sung to the same tune.

At the beginning of each psalm Laelius gives the text incipit in four languages: Latin, French, German and Dutch. This strategy may have been intended to widen the market beyond German-speaking areas. But at the end of the book it turns out to be only a half-hearted attempt, as there is only a complete alphabetical index only in German. The French index breaks off halfway through the letter D and the *Index Belgicus* consists of only five incipits for the letter A. There is no trace of a Latin index. Yet the idea of psalm titles in four languages would be taken over by Nicolas Vallet in his *Regia Pietas* (1620).

The publisher of Laelius's book in Arnhem was Joannes Janssonius. It may be significant that this Janssonius was the father of a publisher with the same name. Joannes Janssonius the son set up his own publishing house in Amsterdam and sold Vallet's *Secretum Musarum* from 1618 under a new title, *Paradisus musicus testudinis*, thus one year after Laelius's book appeared. It is not clear if there is any connection between these facts.

³⁹ *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel*, ed. Hans Georg Wackernagel, iii: 1601/02-1665/66, (Basel, 1962), p.59, no.83. I am grateful to Andreas Schlegel for this reference.

German Manuscripts with Psalm Settings

The most conspicuous German lute source from the viewpoint of psalm research is the Königsberg manuscript, written in the early 17th century at the cultured Brandenburg court in Königsberg (now Kaliningrad) on the Baltic coast.⁴⁰ It had been in this city that Lobwasser completed his metrical translation of the Genevan psalter. In the period the lute manuscript was written Elector Johann Sigismund converted to Calvinism, in 1613, though the city and court were still deeply Lutheran. Like the conversion of Moritz von Hessen, this caused much trouble. The Königsberg lute manuscript with its German, English, French and Dutch pieces bears, in the words of its editors Arthur Ness and John Ward, the cosmopolitan stamp of music surrounding the Brandenburg court; here the cultures of western Europe met those of Prussia, Poland and Lithuania.

In the manuscript, nearly 50 Genevan psalms are notated in numerical order in a series from f.43r to f.51r, written by one scribe, called 'F' by the editors. The psalms are F's main contribution to the manuscript, and are presented in simple chordal settings, each one with its text incipit from Lobwasser. Ness and Ward recognised the pieces as arrangements of Goudimel's four-part settings, with the tenor (bearing the melody) placed in the upper voice. Now that Reymann's *Cythara sacra* has been found again, we can compare the two sources, which are from the same period. The psalm settings appear to be very similar, but the Königsberg scribe sometimes used different accidentals from Reymann, and often made the chords fuller, by adding extra notes, including sometimes the third in an imperfect chord. It is hard to decide whether these are adaptations from Reymann's settings or whether the Königsberg psalms are new arrangements from the same Lobwasser/Goudimel songbook (or from one of the many other editions of that collection), following the same, rather obvious principles as Reymann. The additional psalms by Moritz Landgrave von Hessen, which are a feature of Reymann's edition, could have thrown light on this question, but none of these are in the Königsberg lute book.

Another probably German lute manuscript containing Genevan psalms is Vienna 19259, dated 'after 1564 (between 1570 and 1580?)'.⁴¹ Apart from dances and intabulations of vocal music it contains lute settings in

⁴⁰ Vilnius, Central Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, MS 285-MF-LXXIX. *Olim* Königsberg, Preussisches Staatsarchiv, Ms. A 116. fol. Facsimile ed. A.J. Ness, J.M. Ward (Columbus, 1989), p.8.

⁴¹ Dates according to Christian Meyer in *SMT* iii/1, p.135. Boetticher dates it to the 'end of 16th century' (RISM BVII, p.355).

French tablature of psalms 129 and 130 and the untitled psalms 1 and 2. Moreover, there are some psalm settings à 4 in mensural notation with French text incipits. There are no German chorales in this book. All in all the manuscript gives the impression of having a Calvinist provenance.

Berlin 40143, written in Cologne around 1600, is discussed above with reference to its Dutch characteristics; the Dutch Canticle of Mary and the psalm settings by the Frenchman Besard do not make this manuscript a representative of the German hymnological tradition.

More German is the lute book of Virginia Renata von Gehema,⁴² which contains an international repertoire written in French tablature and dates from around 1650. Little is known about Virginia.⁴³ She was born as Virginia Keckerbart, daughter of the *Syndikus* (city secretary) of Danzig (now Gdąnsk), and married to Abraham Gehema Jacobssohn, who in the middle of the 17th century owned land near Thorn in West-Preussen (now Toruń, halfway between Gdąnsk and Warsaw). In 1651 a poem was dedicated to Abraham, according to which he lived in Groß and Klein-Lesen (now Wielkie and Małe Leżno in Poland, two neighbouring villages less than 100 km north west of Toruń). There is also a wedding poem written by Martin Opitz, in which Virginia is compared to Sappho because of her literary activities in Latin and Greek. Abraham's father, Jacob Jacobssohn von Gehema, was Master of the Mint in Danzig. According to a later source, the family, probably Frisian, from which Gehema originated came to the Spanish Netherlands, but then left because of their Reformed religion. From this heterogeneous and not always reliable information we may conclude that Virginia Renata von Gehema was a well-educated, artistically inclined German woman from the Danzig aristocracy, who lived on an estate in the beautiful countryside of what was then West Prussia (now northern central Poland). I could not ascertain if she was of the Reformed confession, like the ancestors of her husband. In 17th century Danzig Lutherans and Calvinists lived together, though not always in peace.⁴⁴

⁴² Berlin SPK, Mus. Ms. 40264.

⁴³ For this tentative biography I have combined information from the introduction of the facimile edition *Das Lautenbuch der Virginia Renata von Gehema*, ed. Gerhard Otremba (Leipzig, 1984), pp.1-2, and a footnote in D. van Stekelenburg, *Michael Albinus 'Dantiscanus' (1610-1653): eine Fallstudie zum Danziger Literaturbarock* (Amsterdam, 1988), p.86.

⁴⁴ Maria Bogucka, 'Religiöse Koexistenz – Ausdruck von Toleranz oder von politischer Berechnung?', in ed. Joachim Bahlcke et al, *Konfessionelle Pluralität als Herausforderung. Koexistenz und Konflikt in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Leipzig, 2006), p.522.

Virginia's lute book contains mainly 'international' dances such as sarabandes and courantes, interspersed with some Polish dances. There are also six textless Genevan psalms (84, 6, 9, 42, 19 and 25), the tunes of which have been set as the upper voice, slightly embellished. Two of the settings are written in 'new bemol' tuning (A d f a d' f'), four in another 'new' tuning (A d g b-flat d' f').⁴⁵ Nine settings of Lutheran chorales blur the confessional identity of the manuscript.

Manuscripts with Psalm Settings from Other Countries

The harvest of Genevan psalms in Swiss lute manuscripts is meagre. I could only find two psalm settings at the very end of the vast lute manuscript written by Emanuel Wurstisen.⁴⁶ He started work on his book in 1591 as a student in Basel, where he studied from 1586 to 1594. Later, Wurstisen became a medical doctor in the Swiss town of Biel, where he may have continued adding pieces to the manuscript.⁴⁷ Emanuel was a son of the famous theologian, mathematician and historian Christian Wurstisen (1544-88), Rector of Basel University. A typical student's lute book, Emanuel Wurstisen's manuscript has separate sections for genres such as preludes, motets, fantasies, madrigals, German and French pieces, passamezzi, dances and galliards, chi passas, and finally a section for sacred songs and psalms ('Geistlicher Lieder unndt Psalmenn'). After some 14 German chorales, the section (and the book) closes with the Genevan psalm 23 (entitled 'Mon Dieu me paist') and psalm 8 ('O nostre dieu'), notated in German tablature (as is the whole manuscript). The settings are basically homophonic with the melody on top and some modest figuration or breaking of chords.⁴⁸

A country with a lesser-known Calvinist tradition is Hungary. In 1567 a Reformed Constitutional Synod was held in Debrecen in Eastern Hungary, where the Second Helvetic Confession was adopted as the

⁴⁵ I followed the inventory of François-Pierre Goy in SMT II, pp.42-47 and consulted the incipits at <http://mss.slweiss.de>.

⁴⁶ Basel, UB F.IX.70. See Appendix for further information.

⁴⁷ K.-P. Koch, 'Studentische Lauten- und Claviertabulaturen im Ostseeraum des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts und ihre Bedeutung für die Vermittlung eines europäischen Repertoires', *Universität und Musik im Ostseeraum*, ed. E. Ochs et al. (Berlin, 2009), pp.117-31, at p.117.

⁴⁸ According to Beckman, *The Sacred Lute*, p.69, these settings are based on Goudimel's, but this turns out to be plausible only for psalm 23, which does not have much figuration. The slightly more embellished psalm 8 is definitely not based on Goudimel's homophonic setting à 4.

official confession of Hungarian Calvinists. In 1607 the first Hungarian translation of the Genevan psalter by Albert Szenci Molnár was published. As late as 1743 a Hungarian translation of this psalter appeared with the four-part settings Goudimel had written nearly two centuries before. In this period, in Debrecen and the surrounding region Calvinist schools ('colleges') existed, whose students participated in the city's musical life. Their songs have been preserved in so-called *Melodiarum* books, including sacred and secular music and folk music, in an idiosyncratic notation system in which four voices can be written on one staff.

A small manuscript for the eleven-course baroque lute (tuned A d f a d' f') originates from this region of Eastern Hungary. It is probably from the second half of the 18th century and thus from the time of the *Melodiarum* practice.⁴⁹ Indeed, the five psalms of the book are notated in a style that matches this practice: the settings are simple, and the Genevan melodies are clearly recognizable in the top voice. This is unlike the *Melodiarum* settings in which the melody is in the tenor, as it is in Goudimel's settings; but in the lute tablature, the top voice is set low, in the tenor range. The rhythm is simple, although somewhat different from the French models, both in the *Melodiarum* books and in the tablature. The incipits of the psalms are mentioned in Hungarian, for instance 'XXXVIII. Soltár. / Haragodnak nagy vóltában' (psalm 38, 'O Lord, rebuke me not in your anger'). All in all, this small tablature book is evidence that the lute was used in 18th-century Hungary to accompany the singing of students of the Calvinist colleges.

Vallet's Psalm Publications

In Amsterdam, 1620, the French immigrant Nicolas Vallet published *Regia pietas* ('Royal Piety'), an ambitious work dedicated to none other than King James I of England and VI of Scotland). The very frontispiece suggests ambition, showing King David playing together with Vallet himself and three temple musicians.⁵⁰ It appears that Vallet has combined some of Reymann's and Laelius's ideas. Like Reymann, Vallet presents each psalm in a simple harmonisation first, followed by a variation, here called 'secunda pars'. Like Laelius, he gives the incipits of the Latin,

⁴⁹ I. Ferenczi: 'Genfer Psalmsätze für Laute aus dem 18. Jahrhundert: eine neu entdeckte Quelle in Budapest', *Jahrbuch Die Laute* ii (1999), pp.60-71. This article, with facsimiles and transcriptions in modern staff notation, is a translation of an article in Hungarian by the same author, published in Budapest, 1994. I am greatly indebted to Peter Király for providing me with this information.

⁵⁰ See Simon Groot, 'Cultural entrepreneurship, Fig. 2, on p.44 in this book.

French, German and Dutch texts at the beginning of each psalm. Vallet explicitly mentions the possibility of singing while playing, in which case the singer is invited to write the text of the psalm below the tablature in the language of his choice. Because sometimes there are introductions and interludes between the sung phrases, Vallet had an asterisk printed for each new syllable, indicating exactly where to write them in (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5. Vallet 1620, p. 122: *Psalm[us] 55. / Audi Deus. / Exance ô. / Erhor mei[n]. / O Heer, wilt*. The text incipits of the Latin, French, German, and Dutch translations are given. In the variation (2^a) asterisks indicate the places where the user can write in successive syllables of his/her preferred translation.

One of the ambitious aspects of this book is that the tablature is engraved instead of typeset, unlike books of Reymann, Laelius and so many others. The 167 copper plates involved must have cost Vallet a fortune. He organised sponsors for his project, wealthy Amsterdam merchants who paid for a number of plates and were rewarded by an engraving of their coats of arms by Michel le Blon, the famous engraver and a friend of Vallet. Probably Vallet's ambitions had been even higher. In 1615 he published his famous secular lute book *Secretum Musarum* and a modest book of 21 psalm settings – modest as far as the number of psalms is concerned, but less modest in the way they are set. Each psalm is sung in long notes by a solo

des Muses, together with the 150 Psalms of David, which he [Vallet], with God's help, hopes to publish as soon as they are completed'. So, in 1614 Vallet was still hoping to publish a book with 150 psalms, but what he did was to publish a book of 21 psalms. I suppose that at some point during these years he realised that he would not manage to complete all 150 psalms in time, in the elaborate style he was using. So Vallet decided to publish the 21 psalms that were ready at that time, together with his *Secretum*. Then, possibly inspired by Reymann and Laelius, he restarted the complete psalter project in a simpler style by following Reymann's approach of giving a simple setting followed by a variation, with Laelius's multi-language titles as an inexpensive alternative to printing the melody in mensural notation. This resulted in the *Regia Pietas*, published in 1620. Had Vallet continued his original procedure for all 150 psalms, his psalm book would have run to over 350 pages, requiring the same number of expensive copper plates.⁵³ With the simplified settings according to the Reymann formula, *Regia Pietas* has 'only' 169 pages.

One year after *Regia Pietas* Sweelinck's fourth book of psalms was published to complete his polyphonic psalter. Together the volumes constitute a masterwork, and the last great work of its kind. In the words of the *New Grove* it is 'the climax and crown of the Calvinist repertory'.⁵⁴ In a similar way Vallet's *Regia pietas* was the last complete psalter arranged for the lute, thus forming (together with his preceding 21 psalms) the climax and crown of the Calvinistic lute repertoire. Thus, two parallel French Calvinist music genres, psalms arranged for the lute and polyphonic psalm settings for several voices, reached their zenith in Amsterdam around 1620, after which they rapidly declined. To again paraphrase *New Grove*: 'The Calvinist churches of western Europe continued to use the psalter, but the period of creative activity begun in Paris by Clément Marot ended in Amsterdam with Sweelinck's contrapuntal masterpieces'⁵⁵ '... and with Vallet's inspired lute settings' we would be justified in adding, as I hope I have made clear in this contribution.

⁵³ This hypothetical calculation is based on the 50 pages Vallet needed for the elaborate settings of the 21 psalms, and the 169 pages of the *Regia Pietas*.

⁵⁴ *New Grove*, art. 'Psalms, metrical, ii: The European continent, 3. The Low Countries (French Language), (ii) Polyphonic settings.'

⁵⁵ *New Grove*, loc. cit.

Appendix

Musical Sources for Calvinist Psalms in Tablature

I. PRINTS

- Bianchini 154?** Francesco Bianchini, *Tabulature de lutz [...] pavanés, pseaulmes, gaillardés* (Lyon: J. Moderne, 154?)
lute Brown 154?¹, Noailly 61, RISM 1547²⁷.
Pss. 11 (A. Mornable), 24 (A. Mornable), 104 (P. Certon).
- Gorlier 1551** Simon Gorlier, *Le troysieme livre [...] mis en tablature de guiterne* (Paris: Robert Granjon & Michel Fezandat, 1551)
4-course guitar Brown 1551¹, Noailly 62, RISM 1551²².
Pss. 137, 137 (*en duo*), 2.
- Le Roy 1552** Adrian le Roy, *Tiers livre de tablature de luth, contenant vingt & un pseaulmes* (Paris: A. le Roy & R. Ballard, 1552). Modern edn. Le RoyP.
voice and lute Brown 1552², Noailly 63, RISM L 2049.
Pss. 3, 23, 137, 128, [1]30, 50, 72, 5, 19, 14, 9, 113, 43, 24, 143, 104, 91, 1, 101, 46, 114.
- Brayssing 1553** Gregoire Brayssing, *Quart livre de tablature de guiterre, contenant plusieurs Fantasies, Pseaulmes, & Chansons* (Paris: A. le Roy & R. Ballard, 1553). Facsimile ed. J. Tyler (Heidelberg, 1979)
4-course guitar Brown 1553⁴, Noailly 64, RISM 1553³⁵ and L 2046.
Pss. 5, 4, 32, 137.
- Morlaye 1554** *Premier livre de psalmes mis en musique par maistre Pierre Certon [...] reduitz en tablature de leut* (Paris: Michel Fezandat, 1554). Modern ed. R. de Morcourt (Paris: CNRS, 1957)
voice and lute Brown 1554⁵, Noailly 65, RISM 3690 and C 1711.

Ps. 6, 32, 33, 5, 2, 13, 130, 114, 143, 137, 46, 152 (Cantique de Siméon), 3.

[Le Roy 1562]

Adrian le Roy, [*Livre de tabulature [...] d'octante trois pseumes de David [...] composés à quatre parties par Cl. Goudimel*] (Paris: A. le Roy & R. Ballard, 1562).

lute?

Brown [1562]₅, Noailly 66.

Book with 83 lute psalms, lost.

[Paladin 1562]

Antoine François Paladin, *Tablature de luth, ou sont contenus plusieurs psalmes & chansons spirituelles* (Lyon: Simon Gorlier, 1562)

lute?

Brown [1562]₇, Noailly 67.

Book lost.

Le Roy 1564

Adrian le Roy, *Second livre de cistre* (Paris: A. le Roy & R. Ballard, 1564).

cittern

Brown 1564₅, Noailly 68.

Les commandemens de Dieu, pss. 138, 33, 1, 3, 79, 72.

Le Roy 1567

Les pseumes de David composez en musique, a quatre parties, par Cl. Goudimel, mis en tablature sur le leut par Adrian le Roy (Paris: A. le Roy & R. Ballard, 1567).

lute

Noailly 69.

All 150 psalms, Les Commandements de Dieu, La cantique de Siméon.

Cf. J.M. Noailly, *Claude Goudimel, Adrian le Roy et les C.L. pseumes, Paris, 1562-1567* (diss. Université de St Etienne, 1988), 2 vols.

Le Roy 1568

A briefe and easy instru[c]tion to learne the tableture [...] englished by J. Alford Londenor (London: Jhon Kyngston for James Roubothum, 1568)

lute

Brown 1568₃, Noailly 69bis.

The x. Commandementes.

Phalèse 1570

4-course guitar

Selectissima elegantissimaque, Gallica, Italica et Latina in guiterna ludenda carmina (Leuven: P. Phalesius and Antwerp: J. Bellerus, 1570)

Brown 1570₄, Noailly 70, RISM 1570³⁵.
Pss. 5, 4, 32, 137, copied from Brayssing 1553.

Le Roy 1574

voice and lute

Adrian le Roy, *A brieve and plaine instruction [...] for the lute* (London: James Rowbothome, 1574)

Brown 1574₂, Noailly 71.
Pss. 11, 17, 25, 36, 107, 130, 136, 137, The x. Commaundementes.

Besard 1603

lute

Jean Baptiste Besard, *Thesaurus harmonicus* (Cologne: Gerardus Grevenbruch, 1603). Modern edn. Ed. A. Souris (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1969)

Noailly 72, RISM 1603¹⁵.
Pss. 2, 24, 128, 42, [23].

Reymann 1613

lute

Matthias Reymann, *Cythara sacra sive Psalmodiae Davidis ad usum testudinis accomodata* (Cologne: Gerardus Grevenbruch 1613).

Noailly 73.

All 150 psalms, Decem praecepta [Ten commandments], and Canticum Simeonis. 21 of the psalm tunes are by ‘M.L.H.’ (Moritz Landgraf von Hessen): ps. 53, 62–64, 67, 70–72, 82, 90, 95, 98, 108, 109*, 111*, 116, 127, 131, 139, 142, 144. The psalms with an asterisk are not designated ‘M.L.H.’ in Reymann’s book. Psalm 100 is designated as ‘M.L.H.’, but is the usual Genevan psalm melody. The lute settings are based on the Lobwasser/Goudimel psalter, (Kassel, 1607), for which Moritz had composed additional tunes and settings for psalms with twice-used melodies. Thus Reymann avoided as many repetitions as possible. Only psalms 30/76,

66/118, 77/86, 140/Decem praecepta have the same melodies.

Vallet 1615a

voice and lute

Nicolas Vallet, *Vingt et un pseumes de David, accomodés pour chanter & jouer du luth ensemble* (Amsterdam: N. Vallet, 1615).

Noailly 74-2.

Pss. 12, 16, 24, 25, 33, 40, 42, 47, 80, 81, 69, 92, 91, 110, 100, 107, 112, 116, 119, 128, 137.

Also issued with Dutch title page and register (Vallet, 1615b). Re-issued in 1619 in Amsterdam by Jan Janssz (Vallet, 1619).

Vallet 1615b

voice & lute

Nicolaes Vallet, *Een en twintich psalmen Davids, ghestelt om te singhen ende spelen 'tsamen* (Amsterdam: Nicolas Vallet, 1615).

Facsimile ed. L.P. Grijp (Utrecht: STIMU / NLV 1986).

Noailly 74-1.

Same contents as 1615a, only title page and index are in Dutch instead of French.

Laelius 1617

lute

Daniel Laelius, *Testudino spiritualis, continens Psalmos Davidis* (Arnhem: Joannes Janssonius 1617).

Noailly 75, RISM L 192.

All psalms except for pss. 53, 62-71, 76-78, 82, 95, 98, 100, 108-109, 111, 116-117, 139-140, 142, 144; Ten Commandments, Canticle of Simeon. For the omitted psalms Laelius refers to settings of other psalms with the same melody.

Vallet 1619

voice and lute

Nicolas Vallet, *XXI. Pseumes de David* (Amsterdam: Jan Janssz 1619). Facsimile in *Nicolas Vallet, Collected works for lute*, vol. 1, ed. S. Groot (Haarlem: Stichting Spaarne Muziekdagen / Nederlandse Luitvereniging, 2013).

Noailly 76, RISM V 168.

Re-issue with new titlepage of Vallet 1615a.

Vallet 1620

lute and voice ad lib.

Nicolas Vallet, *Pieté royalle, c'est à dire: Les cent cinquante pseumes de David = Regia pietas* (Amsterdam: Nicolas Vallet, 1620). Facsimile edns. ed. L.P. Grijp and R. Spencer (Utrecht: STIMU / NLV, 1986), and S. Groot (Haarlem: Stichting Spaarne Muziekdagen / Nederlandse Luitvereniging, 2013).

Noailly 77, RISM V 174.

All 150 psalms (ps. 135 twice), Ten Commandments, Canticle of Simeon, Our Father, Canticle of Mary, Canticle of Zechariah.

II. MANUSCRIPTS

Basel F.IX.70

lute

Basel, UB F.IX.70 (Wurstisen MS, Basel 1591).

<http://www.e-manuscripta.ch/doi/10.7891/e-manuscripta-13217>

Not in RISM B VII; SMT I, pp.11-27.

Pss. 23, 8 (f.325).

Berlin 40143

lute

Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska. Olim Berlin PSB Mus. Ms. 40143 (Cologne c.1600, also Dutch pieces).

RISM BVII p.25, Noailly 56, SMT III/2, pp.112-15.

Pss. 24, 42, 128, 23, 2 (all from Besard, 1603), Les dix Commandements de Dieu, Lofsang Mariae, psalm 103.

Berlin 40264

lute

Berlin SPK, Mus. Ms. 40264 (MS Virginia Renata von Gehema, West Prussia, c.1655-60). facsimile edn. 1984, introduction by Gerhard Otremba.

RISM BVII, p.31; SMT I, p.42.

Ps. 84, 6, 9, 42, 19, 25 for lute in different tunings.

- Budapest K.1.577** Budapest, Dunamelléki Református Egyházkerület Ráday Gyűjteménye (Ráday Archive of the Reformed Church, RISM H-Br) Ms. K. 1.577, olim K. 1.607 (Eastern Hungary, 18th century). Facsimile edn. and transcription in Ferenczi
lute Not in RISM B VII, SMT III/2, p. 81.
Pss. 38, 52, 81, 23, 25 for lute in baroque tuning.
- Dublin 410/I** Dublin, Trinity College Library, Ms 410/I, olim D 3.30 (Dallis lute book, Cambridge 1583-c.1590).
http://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/index.php?folder_id=1373&pidtopage=MS410_001&entry_point=1
lute RISM B VII p.96, Noailly 54.
Pss. 4, 5[^], 6[^], 15*, 23, 27, 42*, 81*, Ten Commandments*, Canticles of Maria* and Simeon*, Our Father*. Some of these several times, especially the Ten Commandments. Further *Souterliedekens* 73* and 103*.
*=Dutch title, incipit or text.
^=lute setting by Thomas Dallis.
- Königsberg A 116** Vilnius, Central Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, MS 285-MF-LXXIX. Olim Königsberg, Preussisches Staatsarchiv, Ms. A 116. fol. (Brandenburg court, early 17th century) Facsimile ed. A.J. Ness, J.M. Ward (Columbus: Editions Orphée, 1989).
lute RISM B VII p.152, SMT III/2, pp.83-94.
In one series (ff.43r-51r): pss. 3, 5/64, 6, 16, 18, 24/62/95/111, 25-27, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 44, 46, 49, 52, 54, 57-59, 50, 60, 61, 65/72, 66/98/118, 73, 74, 75, 77/86, 79, 80, 81, 84, 85, 89, 92, 91, 97, 99, 101, 117, 134, 140, 141, 143, 146, most of these based on Lobwasser / Goudimel (first edn. Leipzig, 1573).

Leiden 1666

lute

Leiden UB, Ms Thysiana 1666 (Thysius lute book, written in Leiden and elsewhere in the Netherlands c.1595-1646). Facsimile ed. J. Burgers, L.P. Grijp, S. Groot, J. Robinson (Leiden, Utrecht, 2009)

RISM B VII p.161, Noailly 55.

Pss. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17/63, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 29, 31/71, 35, 36/68, 37, 38, 40, 42, 43, 50, 51/69, 61, 63/17, 68/36, 69/51, 71/31, 73, 74/116, 77/86, 79, 86/77, 91, 97, 100, 103, 116/74, 117/127, 119, 123, 124, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 133, several canticles; often several settings, including intabulated settings of all sorts by Goudimel, Sweelinck, Le Jeune, and Mr David [Padbrué]. Notations by Adriaen Joriszoon Smout (1580-1646).

[Marnix]

[lute]

Psalmi & cantilenae variae à Ph. Marnixio conscriptae & testudini accomodatae ('Psalms and various chansons

intabulated for lute by Filips Marnix') van St. Aldegonde (1540-98). This MS is only known from the auction catalogue of Marnix's library (printed 1599). Burgers, *The lute in the Dutch Golden Age* (Amsterdam, 2013), pp.34-36.

Uppsala 76b

lute

UppsalaUniversitetsbiblioteket, Vocalmusik i handskrift 76: b (France, c.1570-90)

RISM BVII p.335, Noailly 52.

Ps. 124.

Uppsala 87

lute

Uppsala Universitetsbiblioteket, Vocalmusik i handskrift 87 (France, c.1560-70)

RISM B VII p.336, Noailly 51.

Je croi en dieu le pere [The Articles of Faith], pss. 19, 36, 10 (twice), 79, 45, 109, 5, 2, 51 (incomplete).

Intabulations of four-part settings by P. Certon (1555).

Uppsala 412

Uppsala Universitetsbiblioteket, Vocalmusik i
handskrift 412 (France, late 16th century)

RISM B VII p.335, Noailly 53.

lute

Ps. 42 (Edinthon).

Vienna 19259

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek,
Ms. Mus. 19259 (Germany? end of 16th century,
according to Beckman 1564)

RISM B VII p.355, SMT III/1, pp.135-137.

lute

Pss. 129-130; Ten Commandments.; [ps. 2?].

CULTURAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN THE DUTCH REPUBLIC OF THE EARLY 17TH CENTURY: THE CASE OF THE LUTENISTS JOACHIM VAN DEN HOVE AND NICOLAS VALLET

SIMON GROOT

In the late 16th and early 17th centuries Dutch musicians had to look for new ways to earn a living from their professional activities. The traditional financial support for art and cultural life from court and church was no longer available in the young Republic. In the Northern Netherlands, the patronage of court and nobility had traditionally been less abundant than elsewhere. Moreover, the Reformation put an end to the role of the church as a potential employer of musicians. The Dutch Reformed Church had no need for professional musicians; only monophonic performance of the Huguenot psalms was allowed.

Nonetheless, various ways remained open for earning a living in music under the Dutch Republic. Organists trained as church musicians could sometimes get jobs as city organists. The most famous examples are Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck in Amsterdam and the father and son, Floris and Cornelis Schuyt, in Leiden. After the Reformation they were retained as organists in their churches, but under new job descriptions: instead of playing during the services, their task was to amuse the citizens with their playing at set times. For a singer, for example Jan Tol from Amersfoort (a small town near Utrecht), the situation was different. He could no longer earn a living in the Republic and had to seek refuge in foreign countries. He worked as a church musician for several years in Italy, where he was known as Joannes Tollius or Giovan Tollio, and he ended his career in Denmark as a well-paid singer at the court of Christian IV.¹ Many other singers will have followed a comparable path. Other musicians had to keep their heads above water with a multitude of activities. Amongst them we find the lutenists Joachim van den Hove in Leiden and Nicolas Vallet in

¹ I am working on a dissertation about this musician from Amersfoort.

Amsterdam. They became cultural entrepreneurs in the real sense of the word, with the opportunities and dangers this involved.²

From Outside the Republic

Neither Joachim van den Hove nor Nicolas Vallet was born in the Republic. Van den Hove came from Antwerp, and Vallet from Corbény in the north of France. Van den Hove settled in Leiden around 1593 and Vallet presumably arrived in Amsterdam early in 1613.³ Both lutenists may have been of Protestant origin and their move to the Republic may have had religious motives. Their respective choices of Leiden and Amsterdam must have been prompted by the possibilities these towns offered them to earn an income as musicians. In Leiden, a university had been founded in 1575 and young wealthy men from all over the Republic and from other Protestant countries came to study there. As the lute was very popular among students, Leiden provided a good opportunity to start working as a lute teacher.⁴ In the early 17th century, Amsterdam became a centre of international trade and within a few decades the population exploded. Many merchants became very wealthy indeed, and in these circles there was a need for cultured entertainment. Both cities were ideal residences for musicians who could try to earn an income giving lute lessons, in combination with odd freelance engagements playing at the feasts and parties of the well-to-do inhabitants.

Lute Tuition

We know of just a single lute pupil of Joachim van den Hove, but this was no less a personage than the future Stadtholder Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange. Most probably he had lute lessons with Van den Hove in the years 1594-7, when he studied at Leiden University. There must have been more

² In an earlier article ('De luitbundels van Nicolaes Vallet, Cultureel ondernemerschap in de Gouden Eeuw', *De Boekenwereld* xxix/4 (2013), pp.58-63), I discussed the cultural entrepreneurship of Nicolas Vallet. The comparison of his activities in this field with those of Joachim van den Hove shows many similarities and reveals a certain pattern.

³ Information on the lives of Van den Hove and Vallet has been collected principally in the editions of Jan Burgers in J.W.J. Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove* (Utrecht, 2013) and the introduction to *The Complete Works of Nicolaes Vallet*, ed. L.P. Grijp, iii (Utrecht, 1992). For more information about the lives of Van den Hove and Vallet, see these publications.

⁴ See in this volume the chapter by Jan Burgers on the Leiden lute scene.

students besides the prince; for instance, the two Germans, Christoph Herold and Ernst Schele, who each wrote lute manuscripts containing several compositions by Van den Hove, were most probably among his students.⁵ The same goes for some of the dedicatees of Van den Hove's compositions: Martin Dalem, Rudolph van Echten and Adam Leenaerts.⁶ These occasional compositions may have brought in some money as well.⁷

In the case of Nicolas Vallet, we happen to know something about a youngster, Jeremias Gibson, who was trained by him to become a professional lutenist. The agreement between Vallet and Jeremias's father is preserved and provides some interesting information.⁸ When Jeremias started as Vallet's pupil in 1616 he was aged ten and was supposed to stay with Vallet for the next six years. For the first three years his father had to supply his clothing, but after the third year this obligation ceased. During the first four years the father had to pay for Jeremias's lessons and upkeep, but after the fourth year that too was no longer required. If the boy should leave Vallet after only two years the father had to pay a fine of 50 guilders, but after four years this fine would increase to 100 guilders. Obviously the lessons were an investment that remunerated the teacher more and more as time passed.⁹

⁵ Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, p.68, suggests that (since nothing is known of a student at the Leiden University by the name of Ernst Schele) the compositions by Van den Hove in the 'Schele lute manuscript' could have been given to Ernst by a relative named Daniel Schele, who began as a student at Leiden University in 1612.

⁶ Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, p.14.

⁷ Not all of this income was earned honestly (as is pointed out in Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, p.14) for the 'Transcriptio di Joachimo Van den Hove, in Honore del Signor Adamo Leenaerts, Padrone mio' (Intabulation by Joachim van den Hove, in honour of mr. Adam Leenaerts, my patron), was actually an intabulation already published by Giovanni Antonio Terzi in 1599.

⁸ Amsterdam, Stadsarchief Amsterdam (henceforth: SAA), Notarieel archief, notaris Willem Cluijt, no.360B, 6 oktober 1616 (edited in Grijp, *Vallet*, iii, pp.XLI-XLII).

⁹ Grijp, *Vallet*, iii, pp.x-xi.

Performing at Feasts and Parties



Fig. 1. Isack Elyas, *Festive Company* (c.1620). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

As far as we know, Joachim van den Hove did not found an ensemble of his own. However, the archives document several feasts and parties where Van den Hove performed as a lutenist. On 21 January 1593, shortly after his arrival in Leiden, he played at a banquet for a doctor's graduation.¹⁰ Some days later he performed together with Cornelis Schuyt, organist and composer in Leiden, at the annual festivities for the 'dies natalis' of the university.¹¹ In 1610, Van den Hove played, again with Cornelis Schuyt and this time also with two other musicians, at a banquet in honour of the Venetian ambassador.¹² These performances were not restricted to Leiden, for at the end of 1608 he played with an ensemble in The Hague, at the

¹⁰ Leiden, Regionaal archief Leiden (henceforth: RAL), Oude notariële archieven (no.506), Minuten van notariële akten van notaris Salomon Lenaertszoon van der Wuert, 1593 (inv.no.21), (edited in Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, pp.22-3).

¹¹ Leiden, UB Leiden, Archief curatoren, no.100 (edited in Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, p.22).

¹² RAL, Stadsarchief I, no.716 (unfoliated), (edited in Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, p.31).

annual feast of the magistrate.¹³ According to the archives, for these performances the musicians earned considerable sums of money, and there will have been more such occasions than we know of. Performances were not normally registered in the archives, unless prompted by a singular event, such as a violent incident.¹⁴

Nicolas Vallet also earned part of his income by playing at feasts and parties, and not only in Amsterdam; we happen to know also about a performance in Leiden.¹⁵ As far as we know, on three occasions Vallet founded an ensemble of his own, and the contracts with the other members inform us how they divided their earnings. In 1620 Vallet hired an Englishman for a period of two years.¹⁶ This man received free board and lodging in return for half of the fees he would get for performances at weddings, banquets and aubades, and he was contractually allowed to keep the income from lessons he gave, as long as they did not interfere with his performances with Vallet. In 1626, Vallet reached a similar agreement with a German musician,¹⁷ who likewise received free board and lodgings and would earn four guilders for each wedding or banquet if there was dancing and three if there was not. For an aubade he would earn two guilders. Vallet kept four guilders a week from these earnings, except for those weeks in which not much money was earned, when he kept less. Surprisingly, there is a condition that this musician was not allowed to show any of Vallet's compositions to other people. The German musician was also forbidden to play in other groups, at least without Vallet's permission. Incidentally, it seems that Vallet is depicted on the title page of his *Regia Pietas* (1620), together with King David playing harp and the – probably imaginary – members of his musical ensemble (Fig. 2).

¹³ The Hague, Haags Gemeentearchief, Oud-archief, no.1206, f.257r (edited in Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, p.27).

¹⁴ Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, pp.12-13.

¹⁵ SAA, Notarieel archief, notaris Willem Cluijt, no.347, ff.321v-322r (formerly ff.323v-324r), 14 November 1617 (edited in Grijp, *Vallet*, iii, p.XLIII).

¹⁶ SAA, Notarieel archief, notaris Willem Cluijt, no.364, p.762 (formerly p.754), 11 December 1620 (edited in Grijp, *Vallet*, iii, pp.XLIII-XLIV).

¹⁷ SAA, Notarieel archief (?), now untraceable (edited in Grijp, *Vallet*, iii, pp.XLIV-XLV on the basis of a transcription in *Tijdschrift van de Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis* ix (1909-1914), pp.143-4).



Fig. 2. Title page of Nicolaes Vallet, *Regia Pietas* (Amsterdam, 1620).

In November of the same year of 1626, Vallet started a new ensemble with three other musicians.¹⁸ The income was divided equally between the members of the group, but Vallet, being the leader, received ten stivers from each of the other musicians every time they performed. If someone other than Vallet had arranged the performance in question, he was allowed to have the ten stivers. The members of the ensemble were forbidden to perform with other musicians, on pain of a fine of no less than ten Flemish pounds (sixty guilders). Other conditions had a more social character: if one of the musicians was not able to join the group because of illness, he got ten stivers from each of his colleagues for each performance that he had missed. If two members happened to be ill, each of them would receive one guilder from one of the other two. This sickness insurance would be available for a maximum of three months. If a performance only needed three of the four musicians, they drew lots to decide who was to stay at home. This person got half of the normal fee.

¹⁸ SAA, Notarieel archief, notaris Josephus Steijns, no.845, (unfoliated), 12 November 1626 (edited in Grijp, *Vallet*, iii, pp.XLV-XLVII).

The one who had procured the engagement did not have to join in the drawing of lots. For performances with only two musicians lots were drawn, but the two who stayed at home were not paid.

Together with one of these musicians, Nicolas Vallet also founded a dancing school, again of course to generate income.¹⁹ This school was situated in his own house and therefore Vallet earned twice the amount his partner did. On weekdays, the lessons were from half past ten until half past eleven in the morning and from four until seven in the afternoon. On Sundays there were no lessons in the morning (obviously because of church attendance) and in the afternoon they started at four in summer and at three during the winter. The dancing lessons were accompanied by Vallet's ensemble of musicians. In the contract Vallet exacted a fine from his musicians of one 'schelling' (six stivers) for each time they missed a lesson during the week and ten stivers on Sunday.



Fig. 3. Michel le Blon, engraving for a plaque for Nicolaes Vallet, 1615. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 133 L 4 (*liber amicorum* of Girard Thibault), f.114.

¹⁹ SAA, Notarieel archief, notaris Josephus Steijns, no.845, (unfoliated), 12 November 1626 (edited in Grijp, *Vallet*, iii, pp. XLV-XLVII).

We do not know if Joachim van den Hove engaged in similar initiatives. But, whereas Vallet gave board and lodgings to his employees, Van den Hove let rooms to students.²⁰ Admittedly this is not a musical activity, but nevertheless a source of income that helped the musician to keep his head above water.

Printed Music

On top of this, both lutenists sold their own compositions. In this instance a considerable investment had to precede the returns. To be able to sell music, it had to be printed; a costly matter. It is to be questioned how far the printing of music was indeed profitable. Possibly it was a matter of public relations in the first place, an investment inevitable for a cultural entrepreneur striving for a place in the limelight.

In every instance that we know of Joachim van den Hove worked together with a publisher, but this does not mean that the publisher took the financial risk. There is every indication that, according to the common practice in those days, Van den Hove had to provide the funds for the printing process himself.

Nicolas Vallet, however, in the first instance acted as his own publisher, another common practice in those days. To reach a larger market, Vallet created different versions of his books. His lute volumes were available with both French and Dutch preliminary matter. His publication *Apolloos soete Lier*, for violin and bass, at least, was available with German preliminary matter, and from the French language of a single imperfect extant copy, we may presume that French versions existed as well (Fig. 5).²¹

²⁰ Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, p.15: ‘It seems (...) that Van den Hove was not very active in letting rooms to students: he had a few tenants in 1600-1605 and again a few in 1610-1611.’

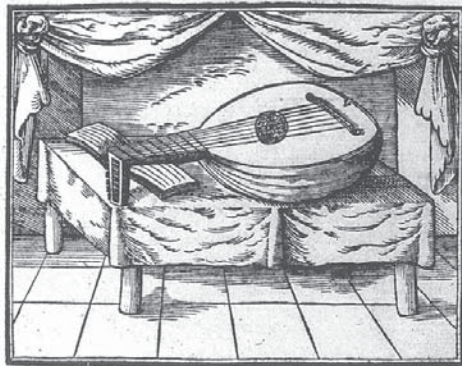
²¹ *The Complete Works of Nicolaes Vallet*, ed. L.P. Grijp, ii (Utrecht, 1986), introduction, pp.XI-XII, and *Nicolas Vallet: Collected Works for Lute*, ed. S. Groot (Amsterdam, 2013), introduction, pp.4-5.

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VLTRAIECTI,
Apud Salomonem de Roy, & Ioannem Guilielmi de Rhena.
ANNO DOMINI. MD. LI. CI.

Fig. 4. Title-page of Joachim van den Hove, *Florida* (Utrecht, 1601).



Fig. 5. Title-page of Nicolaes Vallet, *Paradisus musicus testudinis* (the second edition of *Secretum musarum* I) (Amsterdam, 1618).

Joachim van den Hove dedicated his publications to Prince Frederick Henry (in the case of his *Florida*), the stadtholder Prince Maurice (*Delitiae musicae*) and to the ‘friends of the divine music’ (*Praeludia testudinis*), a group of noblemen and learned people, no doubt wealthy as well. Nicolas Vallet dedicated his first publication (the *Secretum Musarum*) to multiple dedicatees at the same time. The Dutch version is dedicated to Prince Maurice, one of the French versions is dedicated to the members of the States-General and Prince Maurice together, and another French version is dedicated to the City Government of Amsterdam. Clearly Vallet intended to gain more money in this way. The second volume of *Secretum Musarum*, which appeared in the following year, was dedicated to some wealthy Amsterdam merchants. Vallet’s last volume of lute music (*Regia pietas*) was dedicated to King James I of England.²²

The King, the princes and the wealthy men will certainly have contributed some money for these dedications which must have given a start to financing the journey to the printers. But the money thus generated was obviously insufficient to cover all the costs of the printing process.

²² Groot, *Vallet*, pp.8-9.

More funds were needed. In 1600, Van den Hove borrowed money from his father, presumably to print his volume *Florida*, which appeared in 1601.²³ In June 1612, the year his *Delitiae* was published, Van den Hove borrowed the sum of 400 florins from the trustees of the house of correction at Gouda.²⁴ In 1616, when his *Praeludia* was printed, he borrowed a sum of 500 florins from master Bernardus Swaerdecroon, rector of the municipal school of Utrecht.²⁵ There is no proof of a causal connection between these loans and publication, but because the loans occurred around the time the new volumes were printed, a connection seems obvious.

Nicolas Vallet also engaged the help of his father. In April 1613 he authorised his father to sell his possessions in Northern France, his homeland.²⁶ This again was probably prompted by the need to finance the publications of 1615 and 1616. In order to realise his *Regia pietas*, dedicated to the English King as we have seen, Vallet involved some sponsors in an innovative way. A group of Amsterdam merchants contributed towards Vallet's new publication and in return were honoured with the inclusion of an engraving of their coats of arms. On the engravings not only the names of the sponsors are mentioned, but also the proportion of their contributions is expressed in respect of the number of copper plates that were engraved from the donations: varying from six to eighteen; sixty in number all together (Fig. 6).²⁷

²³ RAL, Oude notariële archieven, no.64, f.74v (edited in Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, pp.23-24).

²⁴ RAL, Oud rechterlijk archief, no.71-K, ff.121r-122r (edited in Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, pp.34-35).

²⁵ RAL, Oud rechterlijk archief, no.71-N, ff. 74r-74v (edited in Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, p.40). N.B. In his text (pp.16-17) Burgers mentions that for the last loan the amount of 400 florins was involved, but in 'Document 55', referred to by a footnote, it becomes clear that the amount was really 500 florins.

²⁶ SAA, Notarieel archief, notaris Nicolaes Jacobs, no.376, ff.207r-207v, 16 April 1613 (edited in Grijp, *Vallet*, iii, pp.XXXVII-XXXVIII).

²⁷ Grijp, *Vallet*, ii, pp.XIV-XVII, and Groot, *Vallet*, pp.9 and 15-17.

Regia pietas, by 1620 he had moved to the Leliegracht; likewise a move to a better neighbourhood, though the exact locations of Vallet's houses have not yet been identified.

There are other indications that the two men were doing well. But their luck would not last forever. Although debt was not an uncommon method of financing daily expenditure in those days, from about 1610 the financial position of Van den Hove seems to have entered a downward spiral: he appears increasingly in the records of the city government because he did not pay his debts in time.³¹ Moreover, from 1613 onwards, Van den Hove was no longer able to pay the yearly instalments of 25 florins due to the trustees of the Gouda house of correction. For that reason he was summoned to the court in August 1614, for the 50 florins he owed them over the years 1613 and 1614,³² and again in August 1615.³³ Also in 1615, five new cases were brought in the 'College of peace-makers' (which only handled minor affairs, so obviously the sums involved were small).³⁴ On top of this, Van den Hove had to appear in court because of two large sums, which he owed to Hendrick Vos³⁵ and captain Dirck Jacobszoon.³⁶ Van den Hove got into real trouble in 1616, the period when his last printed lute book saw the light of day. His goods were confiscated and even his house was sold under execution.³⁷ He probably fled Leiden to avoid his creditors. He took refuge in The Hague, where he died in a state of poverty shortly before 23 April 1620.³⁸ His children feared that his debts would exceed the value of his property and were therefore allowed to accept the inheritance of their deceased father with benefit of inventory (that is without liability beyond the assets handed down).³⁹

³¹ Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, pp.17-18.

³² RAL, Oud rechterlijk archief, inv.no.47-H, f.333r (edited in Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, p.37).

³³ RAL, Oud rechterlijk archief, inv.no.47-J, f.153v (edited in Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, p.38).

³⁴ Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, pp.17-18.

³⁵ RAL, Oud rechterlijk archief, inv.no.43-KK, f.275v and inv.no.45-T, ff.31r-31v (both edited in Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, pp.37-38).

³⁶ RAL, Oud rechterlijk archief, inv.no.43-KK, f.281v and inv.no.45-T, f.21r (both edited in Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, p.39).

³⁷ RAL, Oud rechterlijk archief, inv.no.43-LL, f.54r (edited in Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, pp.40-41).

³⁸ Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, p.18.

³⁹ The Hague, Nationaal archief, Archief van de Hoge Raad van Holland, Zeeland en (West-)Friesland, inv.no.24 (unfoliated), (edited in Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, p.42).

Nicolas Vallet seems to have lived a wealthy life until about 1633. An inventory made in that year, shows that Vallet lived in a house with at least eight rooms, furnished in great style.⁴⁰ He owned valuable items such as a porcelain bowl and cups, expensive clothes of satin, damask, brocade and armozeen and owned no fewer than 57 paintings. The inventory, however, was drawn up because Vallet had run into debt and difficulty at this time. Because he could not pay his rent, his landlord took his furniture as collateral security.⁴¹ Vallet was allowed the use of his possessions, but the landlord could distrain them at any time. Presumably, however, Vallet overcame these financial difficulties, for in the 1640s he had two new publications of his music printed. They were published in Amsterdam and constitute the last that we hear of Vallet.⁴²

Conclusion

It is clear that it was possible for a musician to earn a reasonable income in cities such as Leiden and Amsterdam in the first decades of the Dutch Golden Age. In the absence of the patronage of church and state, this was only made feasible by undertaking a multitude of activities, as we have seen from the lives of Van den Hove and Vallet. These musicians acted therefore as cultural entrepreneurs in the real sense of the word. Ups and downs are inextricably part of entrepreneurship and it is no surprise that periods of financial problems came to the lives of both Van den Hove and Vallet. How far these financial problems can be blamed on bad financial management (and therefore to defective entrepreneurship) is hard to discern. Probably these men were more musicians than businessmen, but without their entrepreneurial spirit they would certainly not have been able to earn a living as musicians in the Dutch Republic in the early 17th century.

⁴⁰ SAA, Notarieel archief, notaris Jacob Jacobs, no.407B, ff.338r-340r and 346r-346v, 16 April 1633 (edited in Grijp, *Vallet*, iii, pp.XLIX-LI).

⁴¹ SAA, Notarieel archief, notaris Nicolaes Jacobs, no.407B, ff.356r-357v, 30 April 1633 (edited in Grijp, *Vallet*, iii, p.LII).

⁴² Grijp, *Vallet*, iii, p.X, and Groot, *Vallet*, p.13.

LEIDEN, AN INTERNATIONAL LUTE CENTRE IN THE GOLDEN AGE

JAN W.J. BURGERS

In the first half of the 17th century, the newly founded Republic of the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands emerged upon the world stage as a leading economic and political power. The new nation soon underwent a sudden and a rich blossoming of culture, in which not only painting, architecture and literature but also music were pursued with passion. In this musical culture of the Dutch Golden Age, the lute played an important role.¹ It is clear that in the first decades of the 17th century there was a lively lute culture centered on the towns. We find not only lutenists but also lute and string makers, in all the important urban centres: Amsterdam, Leiden, The Hague, Haarlem, Alkmaar, Dordrecht, Utrecht and Middelburg. It is probable that archival research in other towns will yield the names of yet more lute players living there.

Much additional research is needed to ascertain the precise role of the lute in the various cities and towns, but from the present state of our knowledge two points can safely be made. The first is that Dutch lute culture relied heavily on musicians from abroad. The lutenists active in the 17th-century Dutch Republic were often immigrants from neighbouring countries. Of the 24 lutenists that we know of, 17, that is 71 percent, came from abroad (Table 1).²

¹ Jan W.J. Burgers, *The Lute in the Dutch Golden Age: Musical Culture in the Netherlands 1580-1670* (Amsterdam, 2013), from which much of the following information was taken.

² Burgers, *The Lute in the Dutch Golden Age*, pp.51-72.

Table 1. List of professional lutenists in the United Republic, 1600-1700

<i>native Dutchman (?)</i>	<i>immigrants (?)</i>
Cornelis Janszoon van den Bongaert, Utrecht	Franciscus Melem, Utrecht (France?)
Daniel Danielszoon, Haarlem	Theodoor Berry, Utrecht (France?)
Jeronimus van Someren, The Hague	Joris Bemont, Alkmaar (England)
Hendrik Ambrosius Pacx, Dordrecht	Nicolaes Vallet, Amsterdam (Corbeny, France)
master Jeronimus, Middelburg	Jeronimus Torel, Amsterdam (Brussels)
Marten Persijn, Leiden	Richard Hancock, Amsterdam (England)
master Aelbrecht, Leiden	Johannes Marino Belloni, Amsterdam (France?)
	Albertus Girard, Amsterdam-Leiden (Lorraine, France)
	Harmannus Pijs/Piso, Rotterdam-Leiden (near Cleves)
	Joachim van den Hove, Leiden (Antwerp)
	Hercules van den Hove, Leiden (Antwerp)
	John Jordan, Leiden (England)
	Dudley Rosseter, Leiden (England)
	Victor de Montbuisson, The Hague (France)
	Thomas Reset (Rosseter?), Leiden (England?)
	Johannes Fresneau, Leiden (Selles, France)
	Jacob Kremberg, Leiden (Warsaw, Poland)

We can be relatively certain that these persons were of non-Dutch descent, and it is quite possible that further immigrants are hidden among the remaining eight, for whom, in most cases, we have no more than a name found in an archival record. We simply do not know whether a certain Master Jeronimus in Middelburg was a Dutchman or a foreigner. And had it not been explicitly mentioned that he was an Englishman we would have listed Joris Bemont in Alkmaar as a Dutchman. On the other hand, the

lutenist Theodoor Berry is only listed among the foreigners because of his surname, which definitely sounds French. All in all, the preponderance of foreign lutenists is clear, and this is underlined by the fact that the most important lute players, those who are well known to us because their works have been handed down, had all come from abroad: Joachim van den Hove, Nicolaes Vallet, Victor de Montbuisson,³ the Johannes Fresneau who has recently been established as a Leiden lutenist,⁴ and Jacob Kremberg, at the very end of the 17th century.

As far as we know, these foreign lutenists came to the Republic from the Southern Netherlands, France, England, the Lower Rhine region and Poland. Some had fled their native country for religious reasons, but not all of them were thus motivated to emigrate. Johannes Fresneau for instance was a Catholic, who immigrated to Calvinist Holland. Protestant Englishmen also were not generally compelled to leave their country for religious reasons.⁵ Clearly, musicians also came to the rich Republic for the possibilities it offered them for make a living using their skills.

The second point that can be made is that the 17 foreign lutenists who are known to have been active in the Republic were concentrated in two distinct places. Two of them are found in Utrecht, one in The Hague, one in Alkmaar and one temporarily in Rotterdam, but mostly they went either to Amsterdam or to Leiden. All five professional lutenists active in Amsterdam had come to the city from outside the Republic. Of the 11 lutenists listed in Leiden, at least nine were of non-native descent.

The choice of Amsterdam seems a logical one for a lute player looking for a place to earn a living. It was the largest and most important city of the Republic, a true metropolis in every sense of the word, and the booming political, economic, financial and cultural heart of the Republic. Around 1600 the city expanded rapidly, from around 40,000 inhabitants in 1590 to

³ De Montbuisson is not mentioned in Burgers, *The Lute in the Dutch Golden Age*. After he had left the court of Kassel, around 1627, he came to The Hague. In a letter from 1638 he complains bitterly of his life there and his pupils, see *Oeuvres de Vaumesnil, Edinthon, Perrichon, Râel et Montbuysson, La Grotte, Saman, La Barre*, ed. A. Souris, M. Rollin and J.-M. Vaccaro (Paris, 1974), p.xxiv.

⁴ See below, pp.248-270.

⁵ Although in the case of the members of the Rosseter family, who were living in Leiden and The Hague as lutenists and instrument makers (see p.61), it is thought that they may have been Puritans, and were therefore closely associated with the Dutch Reformed Church (Christian Vlam and Thurston Dart, 'Rosseters in Holland', *The Galpin Society Journal* xi (1958), pp.63-9, at p.63).

over 200,000 in 1675.⁶ In Amsterdam five lutenists can be listed. The most famous of them is Nicolaes Vallet, who published four lute books in the years 1615-20. The others listed are more obscure figures: Jeronimus Torel from Brussels; Johannes Marino Belloni from France, Richard Hancock from England, and Albertus Girard from Lorraine in France.

Why were so many lutenists drawn to Leiden? Though Leiden was much smaller and less wealthy than Amsterdam, it still was the second town of the province of Holland in terms of size (Fig. 1).

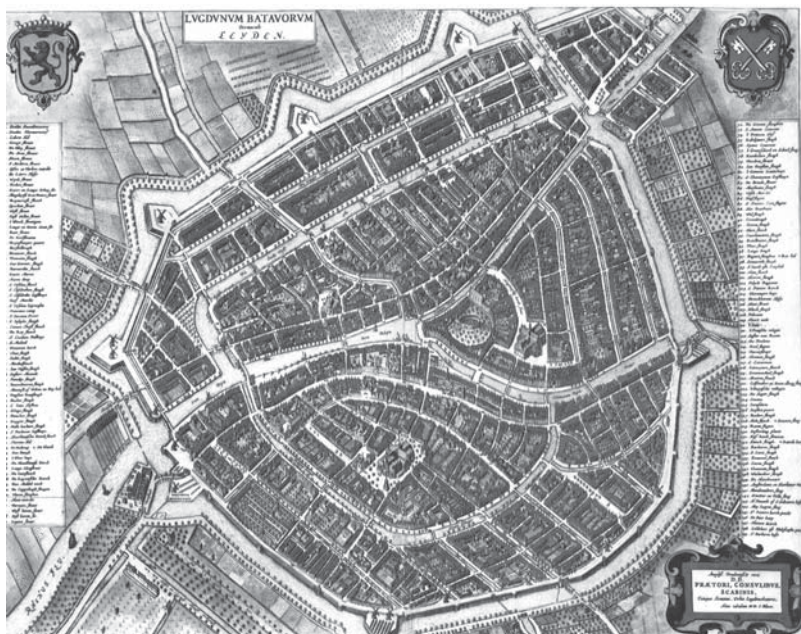


Fig. 1. Leiden, c.1650, from: *Toonneel der Steden van de Vereenighde Nederlanden*, ed. Joan Blaeu, vol. 2 (Amsterdam, 1652).

The number of Leiden inhabitants had virtually exploded, from 10,000 in 1575, to 22,000 in 1600, to 49,000 by 1650.⁷ And we must not

⁶ H. Nusteling, *Welvaart en werkgelegenheid in Amsterdam 1540-1860. Een relaas over demografie, economie en sociale politiek van een wereldstad* (Amsterdam/Dieren, 1985), p.240, Bijlage 2.1.

⁷ D.J. Noordam, 'Demografische ontwikkelingen', in S. Groenveld (ed.), *Leiden. De geschiedenis van een Hollandse stad*, ii: 1574-1795 (Leiden, 2003), pp.43-53, at p.45.

underestimate the prosperity of the town in the first half of the 17th century. It was especially thanks to its cloth industry that Leiden was thriving. For a while the town was the biggest producer of cloth in Europe, and this economic boom had attracted all kinds of people.⁸ Many of these newcomers were immigrants from outside the Republic. It is calculated that in 1581 a quarter of the male inhabitants of the town were immigrants from abroad; in 1622 as many as 42 percent of the Leiden's males were of foreign descent.⁹ In particular the merchants and workers from the Southern Netherlands gave the cloth industry the injection of capital and workmanship it needed.¹⁰

Leiden had an international asset in its university; something that Amsterdam lacked. It was founded in 1575, as the first university in the Northern Netherlands. Its purpose was to give the sons of the Dutch elite access to a proper education. The student population grew steadily; in 1600, 160 new students matriculated, while in 1650 some 400 freshmen were registered.¹¹ Yet again many of them were from abroad: of more than 20,000 students who matriculated during the period 1575-1650, 47 percent were foreigners. Most came from the Protestant parts of Europe, particularly from Germany, but also from England, Denmark, Poland, Huguenot France and elsewhere.¹² Students were renowned as avid lovers and practitioners of music; music was supposed to refresh a mind fatigued by onerous study. It is therefore not surprising that the commentary accompanying an engraving by Crispijn de Passe the Elder from his book *Academia sive speculum vitae scolasticae* ('The University, or mirror of student life', 1612), shows a merry musical company, with the words 'there is not one among the honourable pursuits that is more fitting for

⁸ B. de Vries et al., 'Het economisch leven: spectaculair succes en diep verval', in *Leiden*, ii (footnote 7), pp.85-107, at pp.88-93.

⁹ D.J. Noordam, 'Nieuwkomers in Leiden, 1574-1795', in *In de nieuwe stad. Nieuwkomers in Leiden, 1200-2000*, ed. Jaap Moes et al. (Leiden, 1996), pp.39-85, at pp.52, 55.

¹⁰ De Vries et al., 'Het economisch leven', pp.93-5.

¹¹ G. de Rieu, *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae 1575-1875* (Hague Comitum, 1875), cols.57-60, 401-409.

¹² R. E[kkart], 'Studenten', in *Leidse universiteit 400. Stichting en eerste bloei 1575-ca.1650* (Amsterdam, 1975), pp.46-7. More detailed data in Martine Zoeteman-van Pelt, *De studentenpopulatie van de Leidse universiteit, 1575-1812. 'Een volk op zyn Siams gekleet eenige mylen van Den Haag woonende'* (Leiden, 2011), pp.116-118, 428. See also O.P. Grell, 'The attraction of Leiden University for English students of Medicine and Theology, 1590-1642', in *The great Emporium. The Low Countries as cultural crossroads in the Renaissance and the eighteenth century*, ed. C.C. Barfoot and R. Todd (Amsterdam, 1992), pp.83-104.

students' lives than making music'.¹³ De Passe based his representation chiefly on Leiden University (Fig. 2).¹⁴



Fig. 2. Crispijn de Passe the Elder, 'Musical Company', from: *Academia sive speculum vitae scolasticae* (Arnhem, 1612). The plate was re-used in *Nieuwen Jeucht Spieghel* (Arnhem, 1617).

Around 1600, Leiden already had a lively musical culture.¹⁵ Famous musicians in the city's service were Floris and Cornelis Schuyt, father and son.¹⁶ Cornelis was also a composer of madrigals and instrumental dances. His works were published in a series of books that constitute the earliest musical prints of the Republic. Musicians from abroad also flocked to the

¹³ 'Nullum est inter honesta execitia, quod studiosorum vitae magis convenit, quam hoc Musicum'. See Ilja M. Veldman, *Profit and pleasure. Print books by Crispijn de Passe* (Rotterdam, 2001), pp.33-52, on student music making pp.44-45; the complete text of the commentary is on p.161.

¹⁴ Veldman, *Profit and pleasure*, p.36.

¹⁵ For a general introduction of musical life in Leiden, see E. Jas (Christiaan Cornelis Vlam), 'Leiden', in *MGG Sachteil v* (Kassel etc., 1996), cols.1008-11.

¹⁶ A.F.J. Annegarn, *Floris en Cornelis Schuyt. Muziek in Leiden van de vijftiende tot het begin van de zeventiende eeuw* (Utrecht, 1973).

town. From 1590 onwards, Leiden was frequently visited by companies of English actors and musicians, who started their continental tours in Holland. The town's magistrate made regulations for when and where they were allowed to play, and what they had to pay for permission.¹⁷

Leiden developed an indigenous lute culture. There were already quite a few lutenists established in the town before they are found in other places in Holland (Table 2).

Table 2. Professional lutenists in Leiden, with the years they are active in the town

Jacob Gerritszoon	1537-74
Willem Corneliszoon van Duivenbode	1560-1616
David Janszoon Padbrué	c.1580-90
Jacob Steenhardt	c.1580-1610 (?)
Hercules van den Hove	1592
Joachim van den Hove	1593-1616
Marten Persijn	1596-1604
John Jordan	1608-28
Harmannus Pijs/Piso	1617-45
master Aelbrecht	c.1625
Dudley Rosseter	1626-44
Thomas Reset (Rosseter?)	1642
Johannes Fresneau	1644-70
Jacob Kremberg	1695-96

In the middle and second half of the 16th century we know the names and in a few cases some biographical details for Jacob Gerritszoon, Willem Corneliszoon van Duivenbode, David Janszoon Padbrué and Jacob Steenhardt. They were probably of native origin, as was the

¹⁷ J. G. Riewald, 'New light on English actors in the Netherlands, c.1590-c.1660', *English studies: a journal of English letters and philology* xli (1960), pp.65-92; see also T. Dart, 'English music and musicians in 17th-century Holland', *Comptendu [du] cinquième congrès [de la] Société Internationale de Musicologie [à] Utrecht, 3-7 Juillet 1952* (Amsterdam, 1953), pp.139-45; A.G.H. Bachrach, 'Leiden en de "strolling players"', *Jaarboekje voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde van Leiden en omstreken* lx (1968), pp.29-37; Alan Curtis, *Sweelinck's Keyboard Music: A study of English elements in 17th-century Dutch composition* (Leiden-London, 1972), pp.12-22; Peter Holman, *Four and twenty fiddlers. The violin at the English court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993), pp.156-7.

Leiden lute player Marten Persijn, who crops up around 1600.¹⁸ By then foreign players had also entered the town, the first of them being Hercules van den Hove from Antwerp, who enjoyed a short and stormy career in 1592. He had to flee from Leiden in early 1593 as a result of an instance of public violence he had committed together with a couple of University students, for which he was condemned to prison and subsequent banishment.¹⁹

His brother Joachim van den Hove fared better. Joachim lived in Leiden from the beginning of 1593 onward, and initially he was very successful as a professional musician. He was able to buy a house at Sint Pieterskerkhof, an upper-middle-class neighbourhood, and he brought out three beautiful books of lute music. In the 1610s however, his financial situation gradually worsened, probably because of the problems he met financing his expensive lute publications. In 1616 he went bankrupt and left for The Hague, where he died a poor man in 1620.²⁰

There were other lutenists of foreign descent working in Leiden at the time. John Jordan, also known as 'Jan den Engelsman', was obviously from England. He arrived in town in 1608, possibly as a member of a group of travelling actors and musicians. His art was evidently highly valued, as he was appointed as a city musician in 1610 and was still in the town's service in 1628.²¹ The Frenchman Albertus Girard, whom we have already met in Amsterdam, matriculated in 1617 at Leiden University. Although he is called a lutenist in the sources, afterwards his main occupation became that of a mathematician. Probably around 1626 he was

¹⁸ On the Leiden lute players of the 16th century see Burgers, *The Lute in the Dutch Golden Age*, pp.36-38 and 68-69, partly on the basis of articles by Jack Scholten, 'Oude meesters, deel 1: Jacob Gerritsz., luitspeler en drapenier', *De Tabulatuur* 94 (November 2008), pp.12-13, and 'Oude meesters, deel 2: Willem Cornelisz., luitspeler en duivenhouder', *De Tabulatuur*, 96-97 (May 2009), pp.10-11. Willem Corneliszoon attained lasting local fame during the siege of the town by the Spaniards in 1574, when his carrier pigeons acted as messengers between the desperate citizens and the Prince of Orange's army.

¹⁹ G. Spiessens, 'Antwerpse luitslagers (10): Hercules vanden Hove', *Geluit/Luthinerie* xxxv (September 2007), pp.6-7; Jan W.J. Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove: Life and Works of a Leiden Lutenist, 1567-1620*, 2 vols. (Utrecht, 2003; Muziek uit de Republiek, Speciale projecten), i, p.11.

²⁰ Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, i, pp.9-19.

²¹ Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, i, p.10; Burgers, *The Lute in the Dutch Golden Age*, pp.70 and 229; Curtis, *Sweelinck's Keyboard Music*, pp.22-23.

hired as an engineer in the service of the States-General. He died in December 1632 in The Hague.²²

There remained a number of lutenists active in Leiden in the second quarter of the 17th century. Some of them were probably native Dutchmen, such as the otherwise unknown master Aelbrecht, mentioned around 1625.²³ But foreign lute players also kept coming. One of them was Harmen Pijs or Pies (Latinised Piso) (1580-1645), who was born near Cleves, and first went to Rotterdam, where he married. In 1607 he matriculated at the faculty of Medicine of Leiden University, where he remained for the rest of his life. From 1617 onwards he is mentioned in the sources as a lutenist, but from 1624 to his death he served as an organist in the Hoogland church.²⁴ Another foreign lutenist was Dudley Rosseter, son of the well-known English lutenist and composer Philip Rosseter, who had enrolled at the University in 1626; Dudley is mentioned as a lutenist until 1644. Two other members of the Rosseter family, Philip and Thomas, were active in The Hague as instrument makers.²⁵ The latter is perhaps the same person as the Leiden lutenist Thomas Reset, who is mentioned in 1642.²⁶ Somewhat later, from 1644 to his death in 1670, we find the Frenchman Johannes Fresneau living in Leiden as a lute player, while at the end of the 17th century the Polish lutenist Jacob Kremberg spent two years in the town. From most of the lutenists mentioned we have not a single note of music surviving, or, in the case of Padbrué, Persijn and Pijs, only a handful of works.²⁷ Only from Joachim van den Hove and later

²² Burgers, *The Lute in the Dutch Golden Age*, p.66; C. de Waard, 'Girard (Albert)', in *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, ii (Leiden, 1912), cols.477-81.

²³ Burgers, *The Lute in the Dutch Golden Age*, p.70, on the basis of a note by A. Bredius in The Hague, Nederlands Muziek Instituut, Archief, Collectie Enschedé, no.158.

²⁴ E. Pies and W. Downer, 'Die Familien Pies-Piso in Leiden und Amsterdam', *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* c (1983), cols.253-70, at cols.257-60; J. Scholten, 'Oude Meesters, Deel 4: Herman Piso, luitspeler en organist', *De Tabulatuur* 108 (November 2014), pp.7-12; Burgers, *The Lute in the Dutch Golden Age*, p.69; Chr.C. Vlam, 'Leidse viool- en klavecimbelmakers in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw', *Jaarboekje voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde van Leiden en omstreken* ix (1968), pp.101-11, at p.109.

²⁵ Vlam and Dart, 'Rosseters in Holland'; Burgers, *The Lute in the Dutch Golden Age*, pp.70-1 and 154-5.

²⁶ Note by Bredius (see footnote 23); Burgers, *The Lute in the Dutch Golden Age*, pp.70-71 and 154.

²⁷ In the Thysius lute book (see footnote 35) there are twelve pieces by Padbrué and three by Persijn; the single lute piece known by Piso, a *Praeludium*, is in the

from Johannes Fresneau has a representative body of music been handed down.

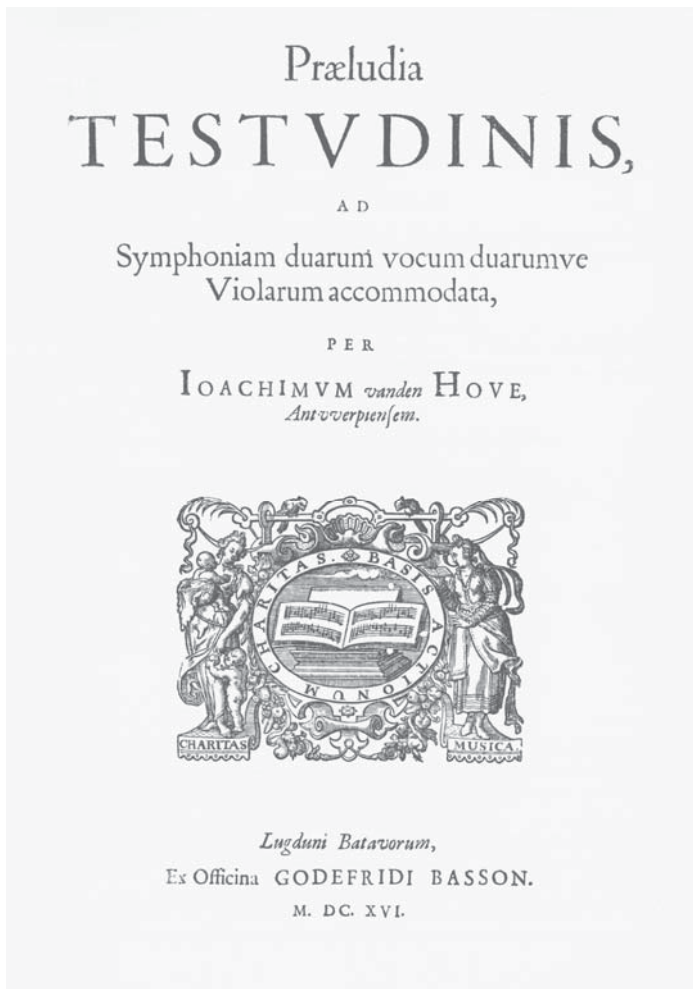


Fig. 3. Joachim van den Hove, title-page of his third lute book, *Praeludia testudinis* (Leiden, 1616).

Grünbüchel lute book (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, N.Mus.Ms.479), f.48v. A number of works are known by Jacob Kremberg, but most of them are not for the lute, and none can be connected with his stay in Leiden.

Quite a lot is known of Joachim van den Hove that is probably illustrative of the working lives of other lutenists, of whom we know little.²⁸ As mentioned above, Van den Hove had a successful career as a musician, which brought him relative wealth. We have some clues as to how he earned his money. He played, alone or with others, at feasts and banquets for the civic authorities in Leiden and The Hague. He also played at private parties and at official festivities of the University. Indeed he is first heard of in early 1593 at the ‘promotion feast’ of a Leiden scholar, and at the yearly *dies* of the University.

Moreover, Van den Hove must have given music lessons, as did many musicians. Teaching was probably a significant source of income, because documentary evidence shows that teachers would often attend the pupil’s house every day for a number of months or even years.²⁹ Van den Hove probably taught the lute to the sons and daughters of the rich burghers, but we know that he certainly had pupils in University circles. Among those lute pupils were the sons of the Dutch elite, including Prince Frederik Hendrik of Nassau, who studied in Leiden in 1594-7. Others were prominent men such as Jacob van der Burgh, Jacob van Dijck, François Fagel and Rudolph van Echten, to whom he dedicated some of his lute works and his 1616 publication *Praeludia testudinis* (Fig. 3). Less elevated University students probably also took lute lessons with him, such as a certain Martin Dalem, Adam Leenaerts from Amsterdam (a philosophy student who later became headmaster of the Latin School in the small town of Heusden), and a student Steven Wijbouts who had bought a lute from the instrument maker Andries Asseling, as was testified by Van den Hove. Foreign students also came to Van den Hove to take lute lessons, such as Christoph Herold from Halle, and possibly Daniel Schele from Hamburg, though he has yet to be clearly identified. These Germans stayed in Leiden around 1600 and in 1614 respectively, and then produced lute manuscripts that include many of Van den Hove’s compositions. Leiden University generated some additional income for Van den Hove, as he acted as a landlord for a number of students. Between 1600 and 1605, and again in 1610-11, at least six students from The

²⁸ For the following paragraph, see the introduction to Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, i, pp.9-42.

²⁹ A number of examples from 17th-century Amsterdam in J.H. Giskes, ‘Muziekonderwijs in Amsterdam in de periode 1600 tot en met 1720’, *Mens & Melodie* xxxv (1980), pp.347-57, at 350-54. Constantijn Huygens is another example of a youth who received music lessons for years, as is recorded by himself: Constantijn Huygens, *Mijn jeugd*, ed. and transl. C.L. Heesakkers (Amsterdam, 1987), pp.21-30.

Hague, Zutphen and France lived in his house. Marten Persijn, another Leiden lutenist, also rented rooms in his house to University students.

Finally, Van den Hove tried to generate an income by publishing his own music, as well as that of others. He brought out three lute books,³⁰ though it seems that these enterprises were financially less rewarding than was expected. These books, with their Latin titles, seem to have been intended for the international academic public. Van den Hove wrote their introductions in learned Latin, with many references to Classical authors. The repertory found in them also has an intellectual flavour, with its preponderance of intabulations (particularly Italian madrigals), Latin church music, and the inclusion of strict four-part counterpoint writing in his volume *Praeludia* (Fig. 3). These books are rather different from those by Nicolaes Vallet, who seems to have aimed more at the elegant society of young fashionable burghers.

In Van den Hove's music, we see traces of a group of people who shared a common love of music and literature. This is for instance the case in one of the farewell pieces composed by him, in which he bids leave to Rudolph van Echten, who is departing from 'the most famous Lucanic society', as it is worded in the dedication.³¹ This is an allusion to the Classical author Lucan, whose work was the epitome of true friendship.³² It is possible that Van den Hove was a member or leader of a collegium musicum of people who were versed in Classical scholarship and serious music making. It is known that he wrote madrigals on Italian texts, although these are lost; possibly they were intended to be sung and played in such a company.

Van den Hove's lute works are transmitted not only in his publications, but also in manuscript lute books containing music collected by university students. We have already mentioned Christoph Herold from Halle, who studied in Leiden from 1599 to 1602, and whose lute manuscript contains

³⁰ *Florida sive cantiones...* (Utrecht, 1601), facsimile ed. T. Walstra, D. van Ooijen and R. Rasch (Utrecht, 2004); *Delitiae musicae...* (Utrecht, 1612), facs. ed. [W. Schäfer] (Stuttgart, 2002); *Praeludia testudinis...* (Leiden, 1616), facs. ed. G. Spiessens (Brussels, 1982). See also Burgers, *Van den Hove*, i, pp.44-63. For a picture of the title-page of *Florida*, see p. 47 in this book.

³¹ The Schele lute book (see footnote 34), pp.71-72: 'Propempticon triste de abitu doloroso Nobiliss(imi) & strenui viri Rodolphi Echteny, ex Nobilissima Luciana societate, compositum per J. v. Hove A(nn)o 1613. mensis maii. die duodecima'.

³² M.S. Jensen, *Friendship and Poetry: Studies in Danish Neo-Latin Literature* (Copenhagen, 2004), p.42.

many works by Van den Hove.³³ Ernst Schele compiled his lute book in Hamburg in 1619. In it he collected much music by Van den Hove, with some of the pieces dated in Leiden in the year 1614.³⁴ We know of a Daniel Schele who matriculated at Leiden University in 1611, so he could have been the person who took this music to Hamburg. Next to one of the pieces in the manuscript is an imitation of a signature by Van den Hove, indicating that Ernst Schele was copying an autograph by the master (Fig. 4).

Student lute books like these are a rather common phenomenon in Northwestern Europe in this period, but Leiden seems to have been a very fruitful place in this respect (Table 3). Apart from the Herold and Schele collections, we also have the famous Thysius lute book, which was started by Adriaen Smout from Rotterdam when he was studying philosophy in Leiden in the years 1595-1600 (Fig. 5).³⁵

Table 3. Lute books written in Leiden, 1595-c.1660

1595-1600	Adriaen Smout, student	Thysius lute book
1599-1602	Christoph Herold, student	Herold lute book (pieces by Van den Hove)
1601	Joachim van den Hove	<i>Florida</i> (published Utrecht)
1612	Joachim van den Hove	<i>Delitiae musicae</i> (published Utrecht)
1614	? Schele, student	Schele lute book (pieces by Van den Hove)
1614-15	Joachim van den Hove	Berlin autograph, for Adam Leenaerts
1616	Joachim van den Hove	<i>Praeludia testudinis</i> (published Leiden)
c.1620	anonymous	six pieces in <i>Deliciae Batavae</i>
c.1660	Johannes Fresneau	Kraków 40626

³³ Hamburg, H. von Busch's private collection (the Herold lute book); facs. ed. A. Schlegel and F.-P. Goy (München, 1991). See also Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, i, pp.64-67.

³⁴ Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, ND VI 3238 (the Schele lute book); facs. ed. R. Jarchow (Glinde, 2004). See also Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, i, pp.68-71.

³⁵ Leiden, Bibliotheca Thysiana, MS 1666 (the Thysius lute book), facs. ed. J.W.J. Burgers, L.P. Grijp, S. Groot and J.H. Robinson (Leiden and Utrecht, 2009).

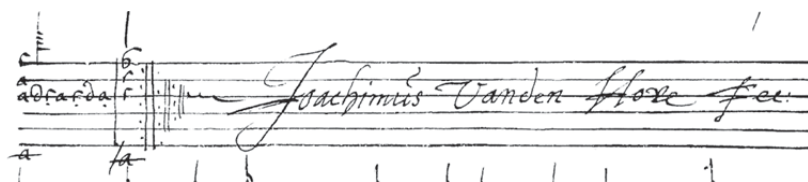


Fig. 4. Schele lute book, p.68: an apparent imitation of Van den Hove's signature.

A page of handwritten musical notation from The Thysius lute book, folio 475. The page contains several staves of music. The notation is in a cursive style, with many notes and rests. There are several multi-measure rests indicated by the number '175' in the top right corner. The signature 'Mr. M. M. M. M.' is written at the bottom of the page.

Fig. 5. The Thysius lute book, f.475.

With its 1044 pages the Thysius lute book is the thickest single-volume lute manuscript in the world, containing no fewer than 907 lute pieces. Smout kept adding music to his book later in life, but the pages that he wrote in Leiden, which are easily recognisable from the style of his handwriting, make up a large part of the manuscript. The repertory found in it is truly international in scope. Here we have music from Italy, France and England, and also from Holland itself; thanks to this manuscript we still have a handful of works of the Leiden lutenists David Padbrué and Marten Persijn. In his book, Smout included dances as well as abstract fantasies, settings of ballads and intabulations of vocal polyphony. English music is especially well represented in the collection; here, and also in the books published by Van den Hove, we find an abundance of music by English composers such as Dowland and John Johnson, and even English pieces not found elsewhere on the continent, such as the tunes of 'Greensleeves' and 'Go from my window'.³⁶ It is probable that the direct contact with the English companies of players, mentioned before, gave Leiden's lute players easy access to this repertory. But unlike Herold and Schele, Smout obviously was not in contact with Van den Hove, as none of the latter's works are included in his book. This is an indication that around 1600 the Leiden milieu of students and lute teachers was already rather extended.

Another, much smaller, collection of lute music from the Leiden University circles is relatively unknown. In 1616 Jacob Marcus published his *Deliciae Batavae* in Leiden. As its title indicates, it is a small picture book intended for the (foreign) members of the University itself.³⁷ The book contains scenes from Dutch city and country life, from Leiden University, and portraits of its professors and officials. Today, Leiden University Library holds a copy,³⁸ in which, on additional bound sheets, a rather inexperienced hand has added six lute pieces (Fig. 6).

³⁶ Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, i, pp.171-2, the commentary to nos.268 and 269.

³⁷ Jacobus Marci, *Deliciae Batavae. Variae Elegantesque picturae omnes Belgij antiquitates, et quicquid praeterea in eo visitur, repraesentantes, quae ad album studiosorum conficiendum deservire possunt* (Leiden, 1616). The title translates as: 'Dutch Delights. Various and elegant pictures representing all Dutch antiquities and what more can be seen there, which can serve students in making an album'. The book was reprinted c.1620, and in Amsterdam in 1618. The copy Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 20651 E 17, can be inspected at: www.bibliotheek.leidenuniv.nl (search under 'catalogus').

³⁸ Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 2792. The tablature is on ff.19r-21v, 23r, 24r.

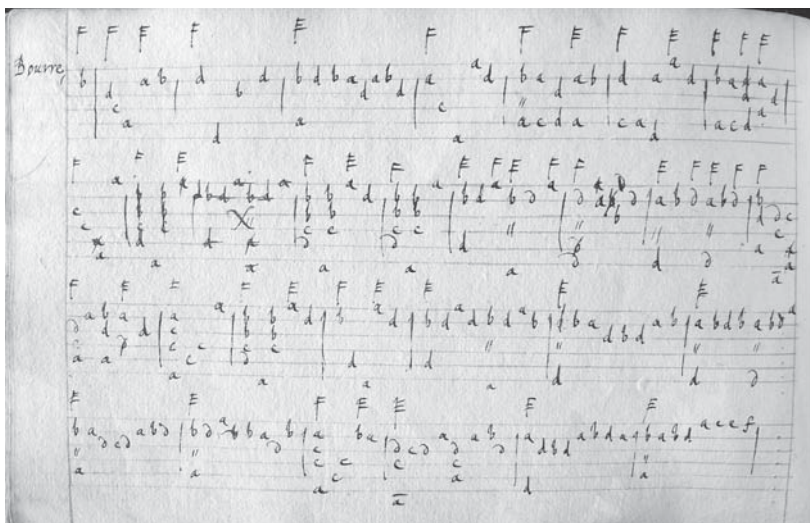


Fig. 6. Tablature in *Deliciae Batavae*, f.19v.

It is very likely that around 1620 a student or academic at Leiden notated this music. He probably was a Dutchman, as in the book many Dutch poems and songs were written by 17th-century hands. Again, the music is from different countries. There are settings of the Italian passamezzo antico and 'Amarilli mia bella', the English 'Frog galliard', the French 'Courante Sarabande', 'Pavane d'Espagne' and 'Bourrée de France'.

There is still another lute manuscript that is of special interest to us. The book is now in Berlin, but it was clearly written in Holland, as can be inferred from the many Dutch titles it contains.³⁹ It presents a special case because it is connected with Joachim van den Hove. It mostly contains pieces written by him, and his name is written in it in the form of a bold signature (Fig. 7).

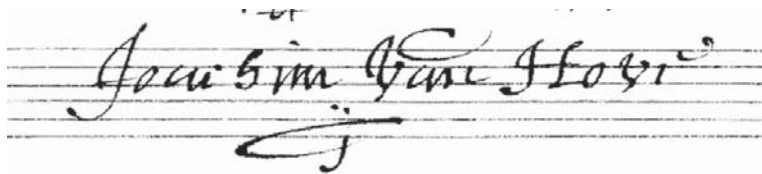


Fig. 7. Berlin, Hove-1, f.60: signature of Joachim van den Hove.

³⁹ Berlin, Staatbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Mus.ms.autogr.Hove-1, facs. ed. R. Jarchow (Glinde, 2006). See also Burgers, *Van den Hove*, i, pp.72-7.

It was long supposed that the manuscript is an autograph by this lutenist. And this is indeed the case, as can be proven when comparing the signatures in the book with those found on notarial deeds in the archives. Van den Hove did write the whole book, probably commissioned by Adam Leenaerts, to whom a number of pieces in it are dedicated. In this manuscript, we find a more lightweight repertory than in Van den Hove's printed collections, with fewer intabulations and lengthy passamezzi and more short dances, also in the loose French style that became the latest fashion in the 1610s. Some pieces are dated, and from these we can deduce that Van den Hove wrote this book between the autumns of 1614 and 1615.

So we still have seven collections of lute music, varying in size from very small to very large, in manuscript form or in print, which all originated in Leiden between 1595 and around 1620. Five of them are connected with Joachim van den Hove; two have nothing to do with him. But all have one thing in common: they can be linked one way or other to the Leiden academic milieu. They were written by or for students of the university, or they were intended for an international public of intellectuals. These collections in many ways form a coherent group, representing a local lute culture, which was essentially of an international nature. The books have some characteristics in common, such as a repertory that was influenced not only by the fashionable French music, but also strongly by Italian and English works. Not only light dances were included, but also polyphonic vocal music was very well represented.

In the lute manuscripts from this period that are connected with Leiden we even can detect traces of a singular notational element, which, as far as I am aware, is not found elsewhere. This is the tablature letter *f* written without a horizontal line through it, which in effect gives it the appearance of the letter *s* in its long form. This unusual form is found in the Berlin Hove autograph, the Thysius lute book, and in the Schele lute book, and seems to be a characteristic of the Leiden lute scene (Fig. 8).

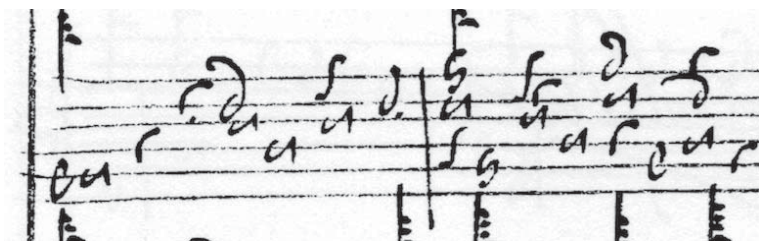


Fig. 8. Berlin, Hove-1, f.44: examples of tablature letter *f*.

We may conclude that the town of Leiden was a vibrant centre of lute playing in the first decades of the 17th century. Here more professional lutenists are found than elsewhere in the Republic. Leiden could boast of twice as many lutenists as the international metropolis of Amsterdam, a city four times as big as Leiden and itself a magnet to foreign lute players. Everything indicates that Leiden was such an important lute centre because of the university, with its international population of well-educated and rich young men. The university was the focal point of the flowering of the Leiden lute culture. University students took lute lessons, brought their international repertory to Leiden, and dispersed the lute music they found here. At least seven surviving collections of lute music originated from the Leiden academic circle, manuscripts as well as printed books.

Leiden's lute ascendancy is best documented in the period 1590 to c.1620, the era of Joachim van den Hove. But the tradition was kept alive right up to the 1670s, with lutenists such as Dudley Rosseter and Johannes Fresneau, who, for several decades, were able to earn a living in the town by their art. In the 1660s we can again connect a lute manuscript with a Leiden lutenist, in this case Fresneau.⁴⁰ In this later period Leiden must still have had a sizeable community of lute-playing amateurs. Until the very end of the century we can trace professional and amateur lute players in Leiden, mostly in connection with the university. In 1684 a youth from a well-to-do Regensburg family, Emeran Wilhelm Agricola (1661-86), enrolled at the Faculty of Law, where he studied until 1686. We know he was a lute-playing student as he was the owner of a book containing Esaias Reusner's *Neuen Lautenfrüchte* and *Hundert Geistliche Melodien* (1676), now in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna.⁴¹ And around 1695 the young medical student, Herman Boerhaave (1669-1738), took lute lessons from Jacob Kremberg (c.1650-1715). Kremberg was a Polish lutenist who had settled in Leiden after years serving at various courts and acting as the director of the Opera in Hamburg, a post he also held in Leiden.⁴² He was

⁴⁰ See my chapter on Fresneau in this volume, pp.248-270.

⁴¹ B. Fischer, 'Esaia Reusners "Neue Lautenfrüchte" und "Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder" in der Österreichische Nationalbibliothek', *Biblos. Beiträge zu Buch, Bibliothek und Schrift* lxiii (2014), pp.131-7.

⁴² Luc Kooimans, *Het orakel. De man die de geneeskunde opnieuw uitvond: Herman Boerhaave 1669-1738* (Amsterdam, 2011), pp.48-61, 339, 353; Burgers, *The Lute in the Dutch Golden Age*, p.215; P. Davidson, 'Leo Scotiae Irritatus: Herman Boerhaave and John Clerk of Penicuik', *The great Emporium* (footnote 12), pp.155-94, at pp.166-77; P. Holman, 'Jacob Kremberg', *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/15510>, as at 10 September 2014).

another Leiden lutenist of some significance, as is shown by the fact that he had published in Dresden a songbook called *Musikalische Gemüths-Ergötzung* (1689). In it are songs accompanied by a figured bass and by tablatures for lute, guitar, angelica and viola da gamba. In 1696 he moved on to England, where he would stay the rest of his life.

It is clear that the lute must have remained an everyday presence in Leiden in second half of the 17th century. It is surely no coincidence that one of the leading painters in town, Frans van Mieris the Elder, who was active from about 1650 to 1680, showed such a predilection for depicting lutes in his paintings (Fig. 9).⁴³



Fig. 9. Frans van Mieris, *Self-portrait playing a lute*, 1676. Florence, Uffizi.

⁴³ In the full catalogue printed in O. Naumann, *Frans van Mieris The Elder (1635-1681)*, 2 vols., (Doornspeijk, 1981), we count among the 121 plates, 11 paintings with a lute played or otherwise present (lying on a table, hanging at the wall), and two with a cittern.

His portrait of François de Boë Sylvius, a Leiden professor of medicine, and his wife playing the lute (Fig. 10),⁴⁴ may serve as a fitting conclusion to our survey, as it nicely represents the symbiosis between academia and lute playing in Leiden during Holland's Golden Age.



Fig. 10. Frans van Mieris the Elder, *Portrait of Francois de Boë Sylvius and his wife*, 1672. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie.

⁴⁴ Sylvius De Boë (1614-72) was an avid art collector, and a patron of Van Mieris; at the time of his death in 1672 he owned 162 paintings, seven of them by Van Mieris. On Sylvius, see E.D. Baumann, *François de Boë Sylvius* (Leiden, 1949), and Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer et al., *Het Rapenburg. Geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht*, iiiia (Leiden, 1988), pp.270, 278-295, 333-342, especially pp.283-5 (Sylvius' biography, his art collection and his relation to Van Mieris, Dou and other painters) and pp.291-2 (the identification of the sitters in the Dresden painting as Sylvius and his second wife Magdalena Lucretia Schletzer, d.1669).

THE LUTE IN THE DUTCH GOLDEN AGE: WHAT WE KNOW AND WHAT WE PLAY TODAY¹

ANDREAS SCHLEGEL

Introduction: The Problem of Interpreting Historical Sources

The iconography of lute-related instruments in the Dutch Golden Age is rich indeed. An understanding of the deeper sense of a picture, its topoi and symbolism, is the field of the art historian, but the painters of the Golden Age painted with great realism and even small details are often depicted with extraordinary accuracy. Pictures are therefore an important source of knowledge about the instruments of this era. Yet iconography is only one source of information and should be combined with the study of surviving instruments and music, as well as textual sources, such as letters, treatises and so forth. In this paper, the paintings of the era will be considered alongside observations on our existing knowledge. Unusual instrument features have been highlighted where they are of particular interest: such as an instrument type that is unexpected within its regional context or time frame; or an instrument shape not seen before; or an instrument type for which there are no obvious musical sources.

Sometimes instrument types are known to have existed in the past, but are not used in concerts today. Consequently, music is played on types of instrument for which it was never written. For example, the Vallet lute quartet on pp.38-39 from the second book of the *Secretum musarum* (1616), demand a ten-course instrument for the superius (with a

¹ During the course of preparing this paper, I had the good fortune to discuss several aspects of it with Anthony Bailes. To illustrate his arguments he often used pictorial evidence, some of which was new to me. Unfortunately, as a consequence of the pace of our exchanges, I no longer recall in each instance which of the assembled material is the result of his research and which of mine. Therefore, I would like to acknowledge his contribution to this essay.

chanterelle tuned to d''), the contratenor (with a chanterelle in a'), the bassus (with a chanterelle in d') and a nine-course lute for the tenor (with a chanterelle in g').

Elsewhere the tenor part also calls for an instrument of ten courses (pp. 35, 37 and 47). So Vallet used ten-course instruments for all four lute sizes: descant, alto, tenor and bass.² Yet ten-course descant lutes are seemingly never played in today's concerts. This highlights a discrepancy in context where the modern-day instrumentalist perhaps unknowingly adopts a premiss derived not from any historical context, but from CD recordings or concerts, or habitual modern practice – that is, from the modern 'Early Music business'.

Moreover, looking at pictures, musical sources, surviving instruments and text sources such as letters, treatises and so on, is meaningless if personal experience and knowledge of practical realities are not taken into account. It is necessary to try to discern how people in past centuries might have thought on certain topics. Whilst it is not appropriate to discuss the entire string problem here,³ the use of modern wound strings on theorboes for example is as clever a solution as the construction of a suspension bridge supported from below with additional pillars! Such a thing would show that the principle of suspension bridge construction has not been understood: the long neck of the theorbo *grand jeu* is an answer to the problems of the strings of that time. If we do not use the historically correct string type the whole design makes no sense at all. Another analogy may illustrate the importance of the material used for stringing instruments for the development of forms and dimensions, and for the construction of the lute belly, bars, and so on. If today a builder of a Formula One car did not know the specifications of the tyres, he would not be able to develop a powerful interaction of chassis, engine, aerodynamics, tyres and driver. A parallel can be drawn with instruments and strings, where we do not know exactly which strings were used.

² Nicolas Vallet: *Le Secret des Muses, Second livre* (Amsterdam, 1616), facsimile. ed. S. Groot (Haarlem/Amsterdam, 2013). There are many different versions of the Vallet prints. This very complicated story is discussed in A. Schlegel, 'On lute sources and their music – individuality of prints and variability of music', *Journal of the Lute Society of America* xlii-xliii (2009-2010), pp.91-164.

³ An extensive article on this topic will appear in the papers of the Bach-Symposium 2012 in Bremen, edited by J. Held and J. Cizmar. In my other paper in Utrecht, on the edition of Notator B of the *Rhétorique des Dieux*, I showed a possible string table of the 1670s. This string table was published in: *Lute News* cvii (October 2013), p.1 (picture), pp.9-10 (text by C. Goodwin).

From the Vallet quartets, it can be deduced that the proportions of instruments were adapted according to their size. Strings were all of gut, though we do not know exactly how they were made and from what material.⁴ The first examples of notated lute music from c.1490 (in the Pesaro MS) show that seven-course lutes with an *ambitus* of two octaves and a fourth were in use.⁵ This *ambitus* is the same as for the eleven-course baroque lute of the 17th century (C to f'') and one tone less than for the ten-course lute in *vieil ton* (C to g'). The first known definitive reference to the use of wound strings on lutes derives from the article 'Laute' in the *Frauenzimmer-Lexicon*, printed in 1715 in Leipzig.⁶ This gives important basic information on lute types developed after 1600. Likewise right-hand technique for the larger instruments was completely different from the 'thumb-in' technique that is so often anachronistically used today for lute music written after 1600.⁷ Perhaps there is more to learn from historical pictures and not only from today's teachers.

Repetition in Painting

This combination of genuine ignorance and tacit but wanton disregard of the evidence mean that it is necessary to have an open-mind regarding the historical sources. In this paper I would like to discuss:

- instrument types I would not expect as regards period or regional context;

⁴ For instance whether the gut came from lambs or from adult sheep; from what region the animals were and on what fodder they had eaten; with what degree of twist the strings were made; if the strings were 'loaded' (impregnated to vary their density) or not, and if so, with what additives, and so on.

⁵ A. Schlegel and J. Lüttke: *The lute in Europe 2. Lutes, guitars, mandolines and citterns* (Menziken, 2011), pp.387-388, note 34; and see the accompanying poster.

⁶ Amaranthes [Gottlieb Siegmund Corvinus], *Nutzbares, galantes und curiöses Frauenzimmer-Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1715), col.1138. <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/ae-12/start.htm>, as at 4 April 2015. The earliest sources that refer to wound strings are from 1659 (the diary-like *Ephemerides* of Samuel Hartlib, 1600-62) and 1664 (John Playford's *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*). Thomas Mace does not mention them in his *Musick's Monument* of 1676. James Talbot writes c.1700 (in the manuscript Music MS 1187 in Christ Church Library, Oxford), that on lute, violin and bass viol one would use the common gut string (Lyons) and the 'deep dark red' Pistoys. So overwound strings had been developed, but seemingly were not used for a long time on lutes.

⁷ See e.g. the pictures in Schlegel and Lüttke, *The lute*, pp.112, 144, 148, 167, 194, 200, 204, 210.

- instruments with a shape I had never seen before;
- instrument types for which I do not know any musical sources.

In the middle of the 17th century, it seems there were between 650 and 700 Dutch painters producing between them around 70,000 pictures every year. On average each painter was creating 94 pictures each year.⁸

One aspect of this vast output is the serial production of what was essentially the same painting. A telling example can be seen in Figs. 1-9 (left to right, top to bottom):

1. Jan Brueghel the Younger, *Allegory of the sense of hearing*.
2. Jan Brueghel the Younger, *Allegory of the sense of hearing*. Sold at Sotheby's, 2009, see: <http://www.wikigallery.org/>.
3. Jan Brueghel the Younger, *Allegory of hearing*. Sold at Sotheby's, 2009.
4. Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Allegory of music*. Private collection, Bridgeman Art Library, image no.148956.
5. Jan Brueghel the Younger, *Allegory of hearing*. Sold at Christie's, 2000.
6. Jan Brueghel the Younger, *Allegory of hearing*. Sold at Sotheby's, 2002.
7. Jan Brueghel the Younger (also attributed to Jan van Kessel), *Allegory of hearing*. Geneva, Diana Kreuger Collection.
8. Jan van Kessel, *Allegory of music*.
9. Jan van Kessel, *Allegory of hearing*. Private Collection, see <http://www.essentialvermeer.com>, search for 'allegory of hearing', 'Traditional Music in the Time of Vermeer: The Dulcian (2)' as at 4 April 2015.

There are of course some differences in composition, but the depiction of the lutes is of great interest. In Fig. 2 the lady's lute seems to be a normal-sized instrument, but with a small pegbox. It does not seem to be a common eleven-course lute as would be expected for the late 1640s. In Fig. 5 the pegbox is bent back and there is something strange about the angle of the instrument. The same detail from another version of this picture can be seen in Fig. 7.

⁸ M. North, *Das Goldene Zeitalter. Kunst und Kommerz in der niederländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts* (2. erweiterte Auflage Köln etc., 2001).



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8



Fig. 9.

The clothed woman in the picture by Jan van Kessel (Fig. 8), a cousin of Jan Brueghel the Younger, plays a strange instrument with a very long neck and a rose which is placed very low. It should be noted that the level of accuracy in the different paintings is clearly not the same. Sometimes it is not known when a copy was painted. Jan van Kessel lived until 1679 and at that time, long-necked lute types appeared – the colachon and gallichon – and there are many pictures of long-necked lute types that do not correspond with the contemporary ‘normal’ lutes.⁹ So there are two possibilities: either this type of instrument has not been accurately painted or Jan van Kessel took a very modern instrument, perhaps changing its size a little, or painting it less accurately.

Such long-necked instruments were also known in Germany at that time. One example derives from Georg Philipp Harsdörffer’s book, printed in Nuremberg in 1644.¹⁰ (Fig. 10).

⁹ I have suggested the terms chitarra [italiana]–colascione–colachon–gallichon–mandora for long-necked instruments with fewer courses than the ‘standard’ lute of their respective periods, see Schlegel and Lüdtke, *The Lute*, pp.11, 90, 158, 180, 214, and the definitions on pp.364-370.

¹⁰ Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele, so bey Ehr- und Tuendliebenden Gesellschaften, mit nutzlicher Ergetzlichkeit, beliebt und geübet werden mögen*, iv (Nürnberg, 1644), p.40 (<http://stimmbuecher.digital-sammlungen.de/view?id=bsb00092698>, as at 23 April 2016).



Fig. 10. Harsdörffer, *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* (Nürnberg, 1644), p.40.

It is always important to see whether, in a source of that period, different types of lutes are depicted and if so whether they are depicted in a naturalistic manner. The latter seems to be the case for the engraver of Harsdörffer's print. An Italian tiorba is shown on the frontispiece, and on p.490 he gives advice on a kind of *Singspiel* with the title (as it appears on p.489) *Das Geistliche Waldgedicht/ oder Freudenspiel/ genant SEELEWIG/ Gesangsweis auf Italianische Art gesetzt*: 'Den Grund dieser Music führet eine Theorba durch und durch'.¹¹ Other mainly later examples are listed for example by Birsak.¹²

Again, the instrument in Fig.9 has a very long neck and a strange pegbox. There are many long-necked instruments to be found, though it is not known exactly what they were used for, what they were called, nor what different sub-types of these long-necked lute instruments existed. Thus it is difficult to draw firm conclusions about them. It is obvious that the model of the original picture by Brueghel is used again and again. The instruments played by the main figure in the picture change their shape – but almost none of the lutes depicted fit the modern conceptions of contemporary instruments. It is therefore difficult to extend modern knowledge using such iconographical documents when it is not clear which type of instrument is

¹¹ *The spiritual forest poem or play of joy, called SEELEWIG [eternal soul], set as a song in the Italian style. A 'theorba' leads the ground of this music entirely.*

¹² Kurt Birsak, 'Salzburger Quellen zu Mandora und Colachon', in *Die Laute v* (2001), pp.80-108. Birsak's terminology is not up to date, see: Schlegel and Lütke: *The Lute*, p.112-16. Many pictures with unusual lute shapes are found in: K. Birsack, *Salzburger Geigen und Lauten des Barock*, Catalogue to the exhibition of the Salzburg Baroque Museum, 4 April-10 June 2001 (Salzburg, 2001).

supposed to be depicted and without giving names to the various forms, other than generic terms such as ‘long-necked lute’.

The Problem of Terminology

There are other plucked instruments in these pictures and they change places from painting to painting. The small instrument in the foreground (detail) seems to be a five-course mandore (Fig. 11).

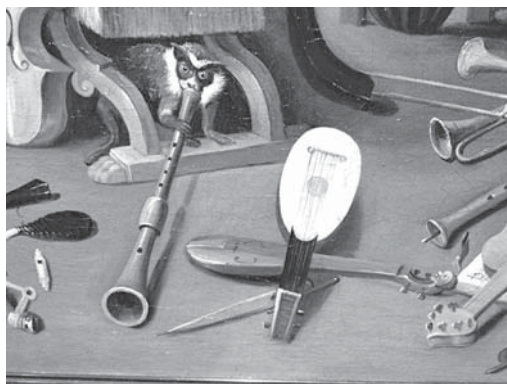


Fig. 11. Detail of Fig. 7.

In existing modern iconographical catalogues such as *Euterpe*,¹³ or RiDIM (the *Répertoire International d'Iconographie Musicale*),¹⁴ the term ‘mandore’ does not appear (on the RiDIM-Germany homepage),¹⁵ whereas ‘mandora’ appears as the name of the 18th-century lute type with six to nine courses and with a string length of at least 64 cm. There are 63 objects under this heading that date from 1301 to the 19th century. The term ‘Mandora’ is used here in an overly general way for very different instruments from different periods. ‘Mandora’ is a German term and because no musical source for the small 16th or 17th-century instrument exists in Germany (except in sources imported from Paris by a German student called Schermer),¹⁶ this German term ‘Mandora’ really ought to be associated with the big instruments of the 18th century.

¹³ <http://euterpe.irpmf-cnrs.fr>, as at 4 April 2015.

¹⁴ <http://db.ridim.org>, as at 4 April 2015.

¹⁵ <http://www.ridim-deutschland.de>, as at 4 April 2015.

¹⁶ See F.-P. Goy: ‘Three Versions of Pierre Gaultier’s “Bataille” (1626, 1638, 1650)’, *Journal of the Lute Society of America* xlii-xliii (2009-2010), pp.1-89, at pp.20-27, Appendix II, pp.36-45 and Appendix III, pp.46-57.

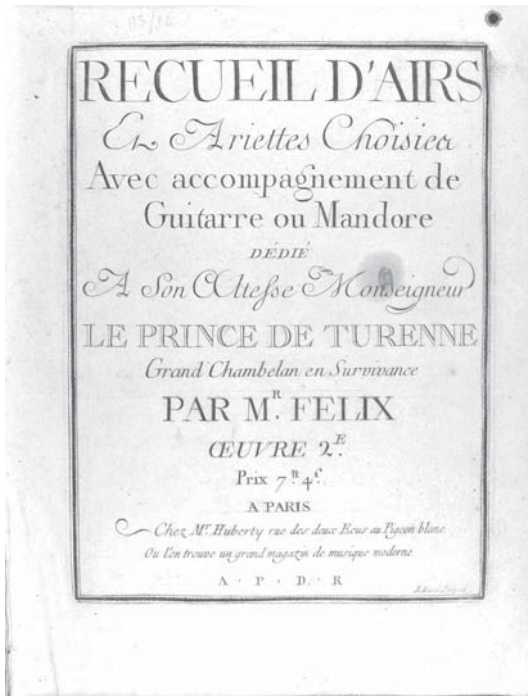


Fig. 12. Title-page of *Recueil d'Airs et Ariettes choisies* (Paris, 1770).

Even if the French term ‘mandore’ is used to refer to the small 16th and 17th-century instrument, there is still a problem. The Parisian *Recueil d'Airs et Ariettes choisies* (Fig 12), printed in 1770, is devoted to ‘Guitarre ou Mandore’, and the sixth course, which is absent on the contemporary guitar, is represented by small note heads (Fig. 13), so it is possible that the German ‘Mandora’ was used in Paris. Or it may have been a type of cittern. In the context of the ‘Theorbenzister’ in Germany, the terms ‘Mandorina’, ‘Manthorcithar’ and ‘Mantor quithare’ are found so it must be acknowledged that ‘Mandore’ has different meanings in different printed editions.

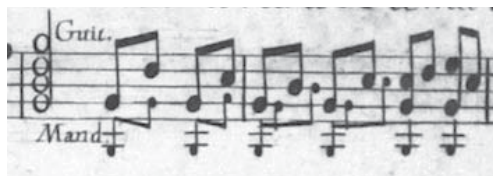


Fig. 13. Musical example of *Recueil d'Airs et Ariettes choisies* (Paris, 1770), p.19.

To summarise, even in the same language, the word ‘mandore’ is used for different instrument types, in different periods. When creating iconographical catalogues, the terminology used should be very exact, as nowadays it has to meet demands that never existed in the past. Modern catalogues list all the different instrument types that were ever created or in use, so although it is interesting to know the contemporary terminology of the time when an instrument type was in use, it is also very often misleading. It is more important for the modern terminology to be developed, and this new terminology should be championed by international and widely accepted institutions like RISM or RiDIM.

A second point to note concerning terminology is that translations are dangerous. Terms should be taken as language-specific, the language indicating the region of main usage of an instrument. So the term ‘mandore’ should be allowed to indicate an instrument that was played mainly in France, whilst ‘Mandora’ refers a different instrument mainly played in the German-speaking lands, in its time.

This leads to a third level of definition for an instrument besides its name, in its language: namely its region. Continuo lutes played in modern-day concerts, for example, might be called theorboes. The modern term ‘theorbo’ is usually used to mean the *tiorba*, the Italian instrument usually built with double courses and not single strings, with a *petit jeu* around 87 cm or longer.



Fig. 14. Title-pages of three collections of songs, published by Playford, London, 1679, 1695, 1653.

In England, however, the term ‘theorbo’ was used for a variety of instruments (Fig. 14): in three different Playford collections, only the print from 1653, on the right, depicts a kind of a theorboed lute. Lynda Sayce has shown that the term ‘theorbo’ was also used for the double-headed lute as shown in a print by John Crouch from 1687 with ‘songs [...] with a Thorow Bass to each song for ye Harpsichord, Theorbo or Bass-Violl’ (Fig 15).¹⁷

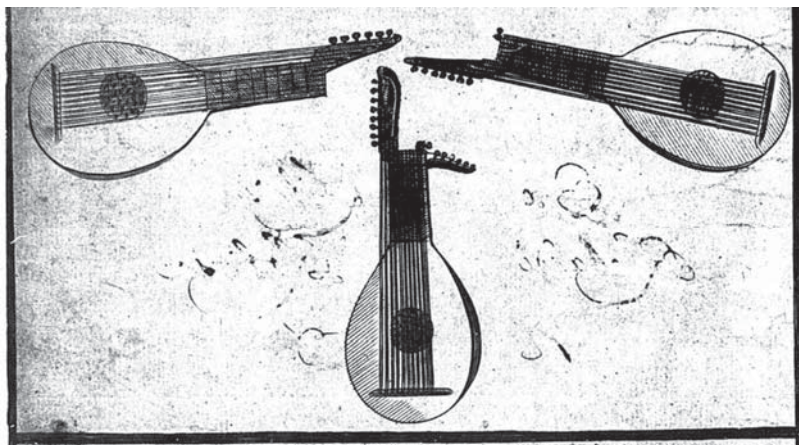


Fig. 15. John Crouch, *Songs [...] with a Thorow Bass to each song for ye Harpsichord, Theorbo or Bass-Violl* (London, 1687), title-page, detail, in mirror image.

Incidentally, we may note the wording ‘Harpsichord, Theorbo or Bass-Violl’, not *and*! Another point to note is that if pictures are printed as copperplate engravings, they must have been engraved in mirror image to obtain a correct natural appearance.

Today a number of different theorbo types are known: the Italian *tiorba*, the French *théorbe* (and the smaller *théorbe de pièces*),¹⁸ the English theorbo, the *Deutsche Theorbe* (Fig. 16).

¹⁷ Lynda Sayce, ‘Continuo lutes in 17th and 18th-century England’, *Early Music* xxiii (1995), pp.667-684; and Lynda Sayce: *The development of italianate continuo lutes*, British Thesis Service, 2001.

¹⁸ Michael Prynn, ‘James Talbot’s Manuscript (Christ Church Library Music MS 1187): IV. Plucked Strings – The Lute Family’, *Galpin Society Journal* xiv (1961), pp.58-59: ‘*Petits jeux große Theorbe* in a: 32-35 inch = 81,3-88,9 cm; *kleine Theorbe* in d1: 75,9 cm’. See also David van Edwards’ remarks on Talbot’s measurements for the English theorbo, at: <http://www.vanedwards.co.uk/47.htm>, as at 4 April 2015, first printed in *FoMRHI quarterly*, Bulletin 78 (1995).

Most lutenists today do not play continuo on the correct instrument, no doubt due to practical and financial limitations. But many ‘theorboes’ or ‘archlutes’ in use today are more or less fantasy instruments - often for example being too short or single strung - and are suitable only for ‘historically uninformed performance’.

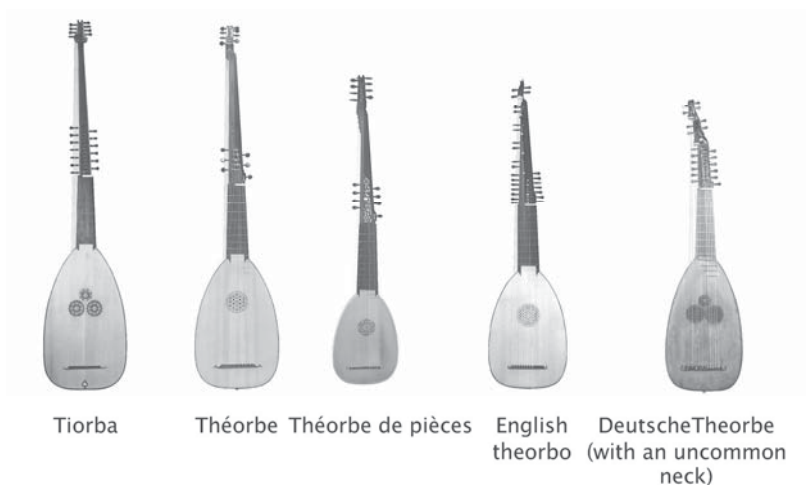


Fig. 16. Different theorbo types, from Schlegel and Lüdtké, *The Lute*, pp.12-14.

New and Regional Lute Types in the Early 17th Century in France and in the Flemish and Dutch Regions

An understanding of the regionalisation of lute types is required for any further development of knowledge of lute topology. As an example, it is revealing to consider some of the extended-neck lutes of the time from c.1620 to 1650 in connection with the Dutch and Flemish regions.

Mary Burwell wrote in her lute tutor between 1660 and 1670:

English Gaultier [...] hath caused two heads to be made to the lute. All England hath accepted that augmentation, and France at first; but soon after that alteration hath been condemned by all the French masters, who are returned to their old fashion, keeping only the small eleventh.¹⁹

¹⁹ GB-Lam Ms. 614, Chapter XVI, first section: *The Burwell Lute Tutor*, facsimile. ed. Robert Spencer (Leeds, 1974), f.68r. For the transcription see Thurston Dart, ‘Miss Mary Burwell’s Instruction Book for the Lute’, *The Galpin Society Journal* xi (1958), pp.3-62, at pp.58-59.



Fig. 17. Album *Ballet des fées des forêts de Saint-Germain*. Paris, Musée du Louvre, 32602, f.2r.

A well-known picture painted by Daniel Rabel (1578-1637) shows a scene from a ballet de cour given in 1625 in Paris (Fig. 17).²⁰ There are lutes in different sizes and three lutes with an extension, of a type that is referred to today as the ‘Molenaer lute’ by Anthony Bailes and Michael Lowe. This is a provisional term and the first researchers to note these types of lutes in this French picture were unable to say how many courses they had. It could be, however, that this is the lute type that was condemned by all the French masters. The first source for an eleven-course lute in D minor tuning was written by a member of the *Gardes Suisses* in Paris between 1640 and 1642.²¹ So the standard eleven-course lute did not come into use

²⁰ *Ballet des fées des forêts de Saint-Germain* (Louvre 32602, f.2r). There are many other pictures which show such lute types. Not all of them derive from the same ballet, but from the same books (Louvre Inv. 3260-32693). For more detailed information see: M. M. McGowan, *L’art du ballet de cour en France 1581-1643* (Paris, 1978), p.291 and p.347, footnote 1. <http://www.photo.rmn.fr/archive/01-012690-2C6NU0G3LBQY.html>; <http://www.photo.rmn.fr/archive/01-013024-2C6NU0G3IADZ.html>; <http://www.photo.rmn.fr/archive/01-012693-2C6NU0G3LI8C.html>, as at 4 April 2015.

²¹ CH-Zz Ms. Q 907. A commented online facsimile is available at: http://www.accordsnouveaux.ch/de/DownloadD/files/CH-Zz_Q_907_Edition.pdf, as at 22 April 2016.

until around 15 years after the ballet of 1625, but it is not clear what string disposition it then had. (It is worth noting in passing that the idea of the neck extension was also adapted on the guitar in the same context.)²²



Fig. 18. Anonymous painting in the Château d'Oiron, Poitiers, France (detail).

²² <http://www.photo.rmn.fr/archive/01-012776-2C6NU0G3QB3Y.html>, as at 4 April 2015. The starting point for research into this type of instrument was the purchase of two manuscripts with music by Ludovico Fontanelli for 'Chitarrone francese' by Robert Spencer, who published his article 'The Chitarrone francese' in *Early Music* v (1976), pp.164-6, where he points to Antiveduto Grammatica's painting 'The Lute Player'. This was followed by Richard T. Pinnell: 'The theorboed guitar. Its repertoire in the guitar books of Granata and Gallot', *Early Music* vii (1979), pp.232-9. In recent times, it has been shown that the 'Chitarra atiorbata' must be a different instrument from the 'Guitare théorbée'; see Monica Hall: 'The Chitarra Atiorbata and Guitar Theorbée', at: <http://monicahall.co.uk/the-chitarra-atiorbata-and-guitare-theorbee>, accessed 4 April 2015.

It is again Anthony Bailes who drew attention the painting Fig. 18, which is located in the older part of the Château d'Oiron near Poitiers in France. Because it comes from the older part of the Château, it must have been painted before 1642.²³ Jacques Linard, who died in 1645 and had lived in Paris since the 1620s, depicted such a lute very carefully in 1627 (Fig. 19).²⁴ Visible are seven courses in the *petit jeu* and three in the *grand jeu*, and there is a ribbon or lace to help the player hold the instrument securely running across its back.

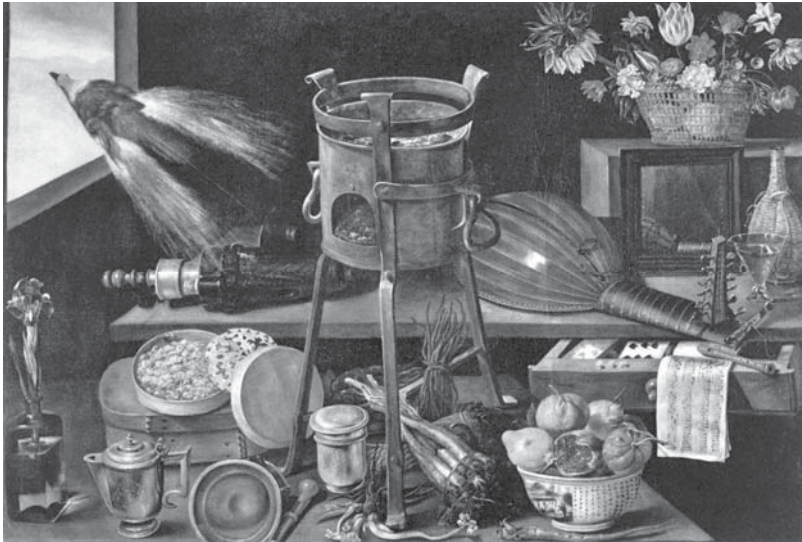


Fig. 19. Jacques Linard, *Still life*, 1627. Musée du Louvre, DL 1970-12.

In tablature sources, it is of course not apparent whether the music was to be played on a 'normal' or on an extended or double-headed lute. François-Pierre Goy, who wrote the definitive work on lute music in *accords nouveaux*, was unable to find any evidence of the use of twelve-course double-headed lutes in France.²⁵ In the Habsburg countries there

²³ In case somebody makes a trip to this splendid château, please send me a high resolution photo of this picture and its exact location in the building.

²⁴ Louvre DL 1970-12. Signed and dated picture no. 3 of the catalogue, see Philippe Nusbaumer, *Jacques Linard 1597-1645. Catalogue de l'oeuvre peint* (Abbeville, 2006).

²⁵ François-Pierre Goy, *Les sources manuscrites de la musique pour luth sur les 'Accords nouveaux' (vers 1624-vers 1710): Catalogue commenté* (Paris, 1988-9), édition augmentée PDF 2008:

are many sources for the double-headed lute, so for instance the ‘Ballet de l’archeducq Léopoldé’ by Balthasar Richard, newly discovered by Greet Schamp.²⁶ Moreover, in the Habsburg lands and the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands both types, the ‘standard’ model and the double-headed lute, were used at the same time (Fig. 20).



Fig. 20. Gerard Ter Borch (1617-81), *The Music Lesson*, 1657. Toledo Museum of Art.

The extended lute (Fig. 18) was depicted several times by Molenaer (Fig. 21), but also by Jan Hermanszoon van Bijlert in 1625 (Fig. 22; though this picture is also attributed to Bronchorst in the years 1642-5). Moreover, we

<http://www.accordsnouveaux.ch/de/Abhandlung/Abhandlung.html>, as at 4 April 2015.

²⁶ See the chapter by Greet Schamp in this book.

have at least one preserved instrument though its original disposition is not altogether clear. It is a ten or eleven-course instrument, built by Sixtus Rauwolf.²⁷

Perhaps this is one of the possible shapes asked for by Besard when he says in his *Isagoge* in 1617 that the lute should have at least ten courses or more, as in Italy and France.²⁸ And there is a beautiful manuscript addition in a Vallet print which proves that eleven-course lutes tuned in *vieil ton* were used (Fig. 23)²⁹ and likewise in Reusner's *Musikalischer Lustgarten* from 1645 (Fig. 24) or the Rodauer Lautenbuch.³⁰



Fig. 21. Jan Miense Molenaer (1610-68), *Merry Company*, c.1628-9, (detail). Zürich, David Koetser Gallery.

²⁷ Depicted in Schlegel and Lüdtke, *The Lute*, p.89.

²⁸ Jean-Baptiste Besard: *Isagoge in Artem Testudinariam. Das ist: Gründtlicher Unterricht, uber das Künstliche Saitenspiel der Lauten* (Augsburg: David Franck für Steffan Michelspacher, 1617), p.2 = f.Bii v; *Ioh. Bapt. Besardi Vesontini, ad Artem Testudinis [...] Institutio* (Augsburg: David Franck für Steffan Michelspacher, 1617), p.2 = f.a[1]v.

²⁹ Vallet NL-DHgm. I would like to David van Ooijen for his advice in the context of my article on Vallet (see footnote 1).

³⁰ The Rodauer Lautenbuch is in private possession and was edited by a team of researchers. It is available as an online edition on <http://www.accordsnouveaux.ch/de/Rodau/Rodau.html> as at 4 April 2015.



Fig. 22. Jan Hermanszoon van Bijlert (1597/8-1671), 1625, or Jan Gerritszoon van Bronckhorst (1601/5-1661), c.1642-45, *The lute player*, (detail). Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, inv.cat. no. 1981.70.

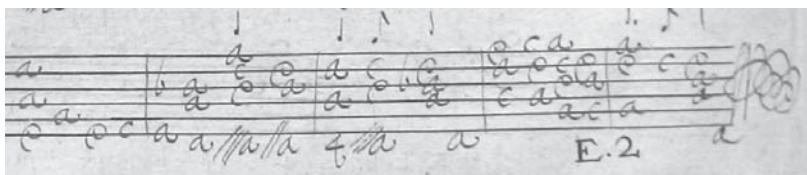


Fig 23. Nicolas Vallet, copy of *Secretum musarum* I and II and *Een en twintich psalmen Davids* in The Hague, Nederlands Muziek Instituut, f.26v.

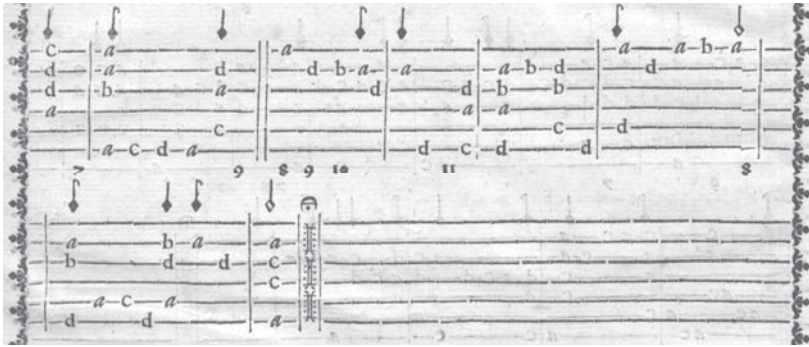


Fig. 24. Esaias Reusner, *Musikalischer Lustgarten, auff Lautentabulatur gesetzt* (Breslau, 1645), p.8.



Fig. 25. Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Senses of Hearing, Touch and Taste*, 1618, (detail). Madrid, Prado.

As we have seen, a painting could be copied a number of times, and there are also clues to the date of the copy, for example, in the clothing. It is often

fortuitous that these copies exist. For example the original of Jan Brueghel the Elder's *Allegory of Hearing, Taste, and Touch* (1618) was lost when it was destroyed in a fire in Coudenberg Palace in 1731. Looking at a contemporary copy of the painting of 1618 (Fig. 25) we can see a lute with a nine-course disposition: a single chanterelle, then seven double courses and a single thick string for the ninth course.³¹ The upper pegbox is of particular interest. The shape is unknown from any surviving instrument. A similar type is depicted by Adriaen Pieterszoon van de Venne, who lived from 1589 to 1662 (Fig. 26). It is interesting that the picture in Reusner's *Musicalischer Lustgarten* (1645) shows a lute with very similar construction (Fig. 27).



Fig. 26. Adriaen Pietersz van de Venne, *A lady dancing and playing the lute in a landscape*. Sold at Christie's, 13 December 2002, Lot 34.

³¹ The disposition of the lowest course is an interesting question anyway. Burwell tells us that the eleventh course is used by French masters only with the small string (an upper octave string, but a little bit thicker). See *Burwell Lute Tutor*, Chapter IV, 5th section, f.8r; Dart, Miss Mary Burwell's *Instruction Book*, p.17.



Fig. 27. Esaias Reusner, *Musicalischer Lustgarten, auff Lautentabulatur gesetzt* (Breslau, 1645), title-page (detail).

Fig. 28 shows a detail of a picture painted by Theodoor Rombouts around 1620.³² There are ten pegs in the pegbox for the *petit jeu*. Eleven would make sense for a disposition of a single chanterelle and five double courses – a normal six-course set-up for the *petit jeu* – but there are only ten pegs. The *grand jeu* has a pegbox *below* the exit of the strings. This is a practical innovation. An Italian *tiorba* player has to put down his instrument to tune the strings of the *grand jeu*. With this Flemish design it is possible to keep the instrument in the normal playing position while reaching up to the pegbox to tune it. The depicted pegbox of the *grand jeu* has four pegs on the descant side. The pegs of the bass side are visible neither for the *petit jeu* nor for the *grand jeu*, but there are seven strings coming out of the upper hole in the extension: five strings on the bass side are very close to each other and two strings are clearly separated on the descant side of the nut. So perhaps the disposition is six courses in the

³² The whole picture is printed in Schlegel and Lütke, *The Lute*, p.113.

petit jeu and seven courses in the *grand jeu* making a total of thirteen courses, or perhaps it is five courses in the *grand jeu*, three without and two with octave strings, making a total of eleven courses.



Fig. 28. Theodoor Rombouts (1597-1637), *Le Concert*, 1620 (?), (detail). Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts.



Fig. 29. Theodoor Rombouts, *A Musical Company*. Private collection.

Fig. 29 shows another Rombouts painting, depicting the same construction of the lute. This time the pegs on both sides of the pegbox are visible, although it is impossible to count the pegs *in* the pegbox. But the pegs of the *grand jeu* can be counted: four on the bass side and three on the treble side – again there are seven pegs. Perhaps this number is not a coincidence.

When counting peg heads we should always be careful, because it seems to be normal to omit the heads of the tuning pegs if they disturb the picture's composition.³³

³³ One example is depicted in *Lute News* cv (April 2013), p.15, right column.

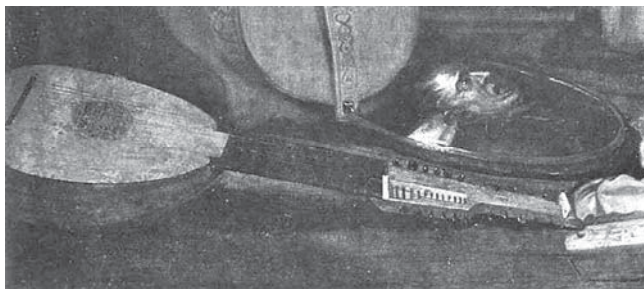


Fig. 30. Pieter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), *The Education of Mary de Medicis*, 1621-5, (detail). Paris, Musée du Louvre.

This extension type is also seen in the picture *The Education of Mary de Medicis*, painted by Pieter Paul Rubens between 1621 and 1625 (Fig. 30).³⁴ It can be seen that the neck is very wide indeed, especially on the bass side, bringing to mind the ‘Theorbe’ held in the Vleeshuis in Antwerp, attributed to Wendelino Venere, from the mid-17th century (Fig. 31).³⁵

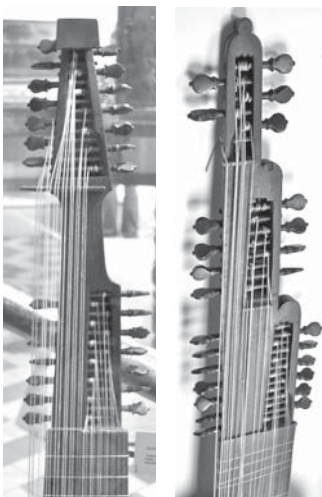


Fig. 31 (left). Wendelino Venere (attributed), ‘Theorbe’. Antwerp, the Vleeshuis.
Fig. 32 (right). Anonymous, ‘Theorbe’, ‘17th century (uncertain)’, Brussels, Muziekinstrumentenmuseum, inv. no. 1565.

³⁴ Peter Paul Rubens (1623-25) *The Education of Marie de Medicis*. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

³⁵ Text in the exhibition: ‘Theorbe. Toegeschreven aan Wendelino Venere. Padua, midden 17de eeuw. Muziekinstrumentenmuseum, Brussel, headphone example 328.’

There exists another strange instrument in Brussels that possibly also comes from the same collection (that of Joseph Mahillon) as the one in the Vleeshuis (Fig. 32).³⁶ One peg of the upper pegbox is missing, so (from the *petit jeu* to the *grand* and *plus grand jeu*) there are: one single chanterelle and six double courses, then four double courses, and lastly at least three double courses, making a total of 14 courses ($1 \times 1 + 6 \times 2 / 4 \times 2 / 3 \times 2 = 14$ courses). Fourteen courses is a common disposition for a continuo instrument from around the 1650s and later – but it is unusual for the long basses to have double strings, probably bass and octave. This concept is known only from the liuto attiorbato, a lute type which disappeared around 1660 and for which we have references from Italy only; and later from the *arcileuto francese*, an instrument with a very short straight extension.³⁷

The idea of splitting the extension into different pegboxes thus producing stepped string lengths is also known in the Dutch region (Fig. 33),³⁸ but this idea was also present in France, if this picture is correctly attributed to Nicolas Mignard d'Avignon (Fig. 34). In a collaboration between David van Edwards and Lynda Sayce, an English theorbo was reconstructed, more than 100 years after Lawes' English theorbo – the only known surviving instrument of that shape – was burned to make more room in an Oxford library...³⁹

There is also the type of instrument that is normally associated with the Dutch and north German regions, seen for instance in this painting by Hendrick Sorg (Fig. 35).

³⁶ Information kindly provided by David van Edwards.

³⁷ For example I-Bc MS. EE.155.I,II: *Suonate di Celebri Autori per l'Arcileuto Francese per servizio di me Filippo Dalla Casa Suonatore d'Arcileuto e Compagnatore sopra le Parti, e Professore di Pittura* (dated 1759; facsimile, Florence: SPES, 1984).

³⁸ Geoffrey Hindley (ed.), *The Larousse Encyclopedia of Music* (London, 1977), p.192.

³⁹ Lynda Sayce: 'Performing Purcell: A question answered', *Early Music Review* viii (1995), pp.14-15. The picture by John Michael Wright and the reconstruction, built by David van Edwards in 1994, are shown in Schlegel and Lüdtké, *The Lute*, p.148.



Fig. 33. Jan Gerritszoon van Bronckhorst, *A concert with woman playing theorbo*. Sotheby's, sold 6 July 1988, Lot no. 28.

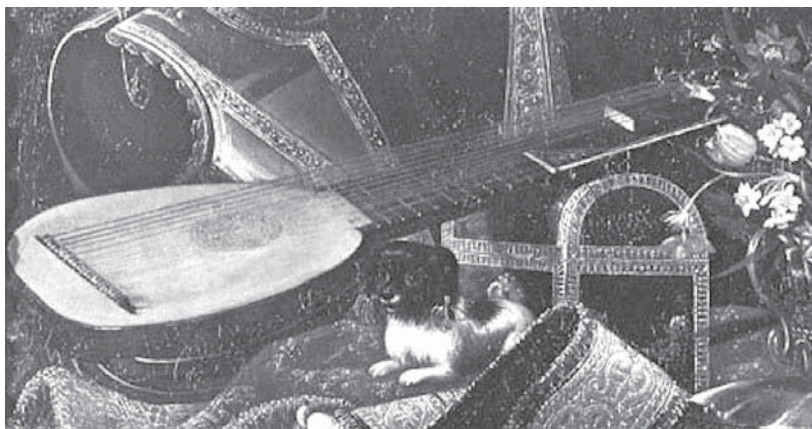


Fig. 34. French master, possibly Nicolas Mignard d'Avignon (1606-68), *Still life*. (present location unknown).



Fig. 35. Hendrick Sorg (c.1610-70), *The lute player*, detail. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

A New Type of Extended Lute?

Many different kinds of extended lutes have been considered here, but it is worthwhile returning to the Flemish instrument (see Figs. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 28, 29, 30) to see what the strange extension looked like. The front and the side have been viewed in previous pictures, but this lute type is also shown from the back in the following paintings.

Fig. 36 shows a picture by Brueghel the Elder and Brueghel the Younger, called an *Allegory of Vanitas*. A detailed photograph (Fig. 37) was kindly provided by Anthony Bailes. There is also a decorated piece of writing paper, which was sold by Tony Bingham in 1984 (Fig. 38). Uta Henning discovered its origin: it is a decorative strip (*Zierleiste*) of a business card used by John Brown, London, engraved by Nicholls Sutton (active around 1690-1725).⁴⁰ On both pictures, it can be seen that the back of the extension is open, so it would not be a problem to attach the strings to the pegs, although the strings would have to be very long, similar to those used for the *tiorba* or *arciliuto*.

⁴⁰ Personal communication, August 2014.



Fig. 36. Jan Breughel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens, or Jan Breughel the Elder and Jan Breughel the Younger, 1615-18, *Vanitas allegory/Allegorie der irdischen Endlichkeit*. Turin, Galleria Sabauda. Attributions and title vary from source to source.

The mechanism by which the strings would have turned the corner of the pegbox is unknown. Reels on a spindle could have been used, but it is not known exactly what technical solution was used for this problem. It seems that this type of lute with a bass extension has not survived. Anthony Bailes and David van Edwards have suggested the term ‘roller-headed pegbox’ as a provisional name for this configuration, which can be translated in German as the more descriptive, but hypothetical ‘Umlenkrollen-Wirbelkasten’. To date this type of lute has only been noted in the work of Flemish painters: Brueghel, Rubens, Rombouts, Van Kessel; so perhaps this instrument should at least provisionally be called ‘the Flemish extended lute with a roller-headed pegbox’. This mysterious and even unnamed lute type is a useful reminder that many questions are still open.

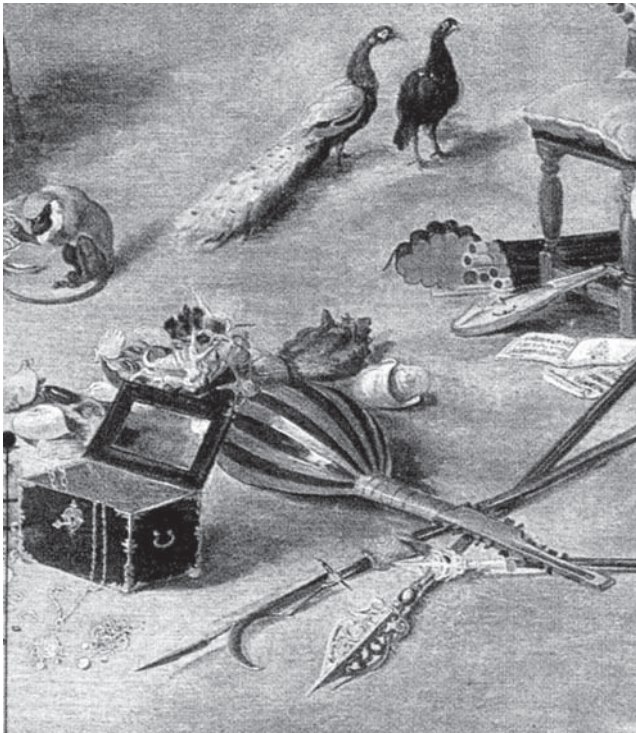


Fig. 37. Detail of Fig. 37.

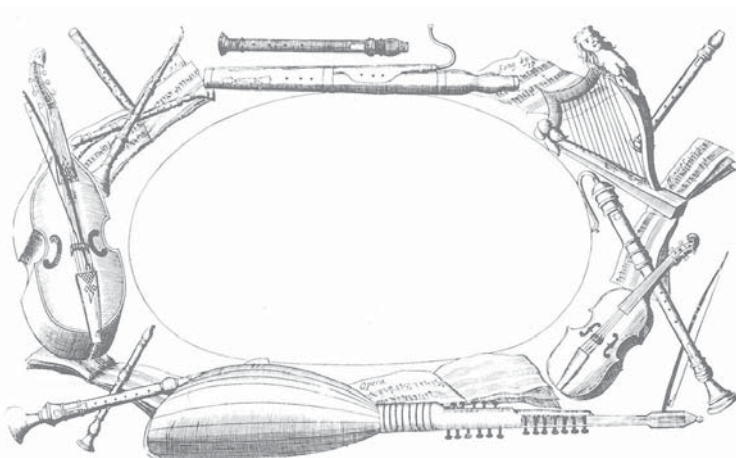


Fig. 38. *Musick*. 48 Sheets of Writing Paper (London: Tony Bingham [n.d.]).

II.

CONSTANTIJN HUYGENS AND THE LUTE

THE SHEPHERD AND HIS LUTE: SOME ASPECTS OF 17TH-CENTURY LUTE PRACTICE AS RECORDED IN THE WRITINGS OF CONSTANTIJN HUYGENS AND HIS CIRCLE

ANTHONY BAILES

To the memory of Gusta Goldschmidt (1913-2005), in whose company I first saw Jan Lievens's portrait of Constantijn Huygens.

At the foot of a chalk cliff on the Dover coast lies a Dutch shepherd-boy gazing across the Channel towards his homeland and pondering the outcome of an impending Spanish invasion there. Cradled in his lap is his only consolation: his *Haechsche herder-tromp*,¹ his delight, his all, his lute. This is the setting for the first part of *De uijtlandighe herder* or 'The shepherd abroad', a poem by Constantijn Huygens,² written mainly in England whilst he was acting as a secretary to the Dutch Embassy. In the poem Huygens assumes the guise of a shepherd-boy; no ordinary shepherd, but one as inhabits such pastoral romances as *Il pastor fido*, *Arcadia*, or Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft's *Granida*,³ a play that helped spawn a shepherd cult in 17th-century Holland. Unlike a real shepherd, who would have contented himself with a flute, shawm, or musette, Huygens's social standing precluded him from being associated with such lowly instruments. Only the noble lute came into question. Thus, this became his *herder-tromp*, a term that can be roughly translated as 'shepherd's horn, or flute', the word 'tromp' usually implying some sort of wind instrument.

¹ Constantijn Huygens, *De uijtlandighe herder* (see footnote 2), line 106.

² *Constantijn Huygens, Nederlandse gedichten 1614-1625*, ed. A. Leerintveeld (Den Haag, 2001), no.41.

³ *P.C. Hooft, Granida*, ed. L. van Gemert and L.P. Grijp (Amsterdam, 1998). See also: *Het gedroomde land*, ed. P. v.d. Brink (Zwolle, 1993), and particularly M.B. Smits-Velde and H. Luijten, *Nederlandse pastorale poëzie in de 17de eeuw: verliefde en wijze herders*.

In verse devoid of pastoral undertones Huygens's identity remains his own and so does that of his lute; as, for instance, in a poem recording a journey to various Dutch towns, which begins, 'Two mares before my coach, two servants, a dog, a lute'.⁴ Indeed, whenever possible, Huygens took his lute with him: to Leyden where he studied law; and England where, in 1618, he lodged with Noël de Caron and supped with William Trumbull, the owner of the lute book with the words *dat moet ik hebben* ('that I must have') scrawled alongside several of the pieces.⁵ The handwriting is not that of Huygens, but one can well imagine that the two men might have talked about the lute and its music during their encounter. The journey to Venice in 1620, during which Huygens acted as interpreter to the ambassadorial train, afforded no opportunity to take a lute, but it did provide the possibility of attending a vespers for the feast of John the Baptist at the Basilica of St Mark's, with music composed and directed by the famous Claudio Monteverdi. In his travel journal Huygens noted the forces used: 4 *Tiorbes*, 2 *Cornets*, 2 *Fangotti*, 2 *Violons*, *une Viole Basse de monstreuse grandeur*, *les Orgues et autres instruments [...] outre 10 ou 12 Voix* ('four theorbos, two cornets, two bassoons, two violins, a bass viol of monstrous proportions, organs and other instruments [...] as well as ten or twelve singers').⁶ Not only is the ratio of theorbists to singers striking (one to three), but also to the other instruments, bearing witness to the practice of using multiple lutes in big productions, such as masques, ballets de cour and intermedii, in order to reinforce their sound in large auditoriums.

Huygens's writings also contain information about his own playing, as does verse addressed to him. Hooft speaks of Huygens's 'learned fingers' playing on *kronkelkoorden* ('twisted strings'),⁷ whilst Vondel's welcome ode eulogises him as Orpheus,⁸ entertaining the Hague wood with his lute playing (a thinly-veiled reference to Huygens's poem *Batava tempe*). However, it is Anna Roemers who provides the most flattering portrait (Fig. 1). Her poem *Aen Constantinus Huijgens, hebbende hem daechs/ te*

⁴ *Uytwandelingh van den ... Augusti tot den ... September. 1669*. Constantijn Huygens, *Koren-bloemen* (Amsterdam, 1672), i, pp.554-7.

⁵ *The Trumbull lute book*, facsimile, ed. R. Spencer (Clarbricken, 1980), ff.3v, 14v.

⁶ *Constantijn Huygens, Journal van de reis naar Venetië*, ed. and trans. F.R.E. Blom (Amsterdam, 2003), pp.146-8.

⁷ Constantijn Huygens, *De ledige vren* (Amsterdam, 1644), p.A5, P.C. Hooft, *Op de selve*.

⁸ *Vondel, Volledige dichtwerken en oorsprongkelijk proza*, ed. A. Verwey (Amsterdam, 1986), p.776, 'Wellekomst aan den edelen gestrengen heer Constantijn Huygens'.

vooren hooren speelen en singen, op syn luyt ('To Constantijn Huygens, having heard him sing and play the lute the day before'),⁹ relates how his performance robbed her of all senses save those of sight and hearing, and left her wondering whether he be the equal of Orpheus, or Apollo, for she felt that his music-making would not only have had the power to tame wild beasts, but the very creatures of hell.

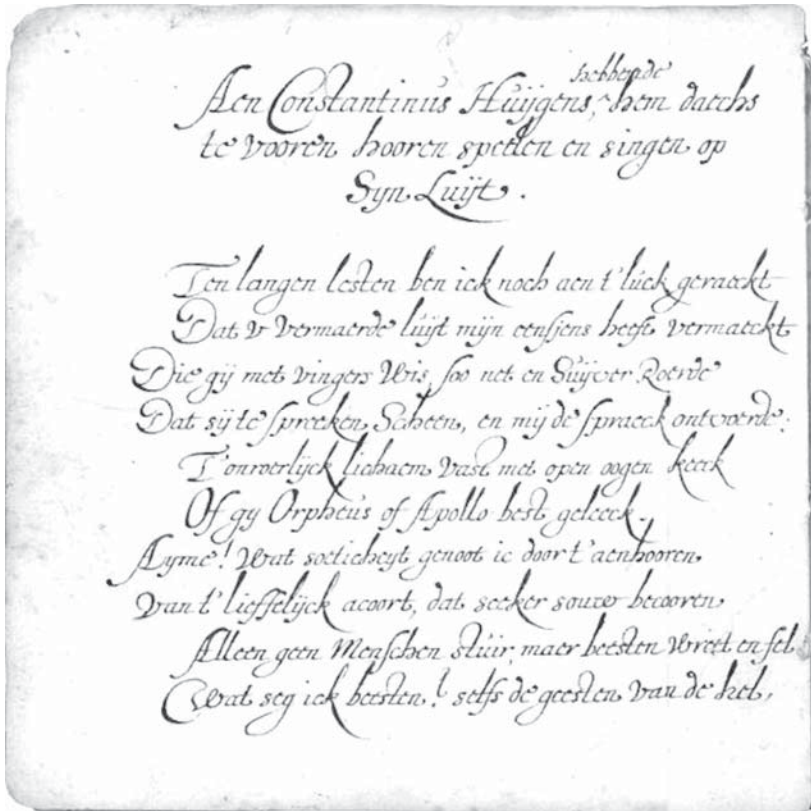


Fig. 1. Anna Roemers, 'Aen Constantinus Huygens'. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, sig. 128 G 28.

Several sources mention Huygens singing to his own lute accompaniment – a format that he clearly enjoyed – and it was through singing that his

⁹ A. Roemers, 'Calligraphy', Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Sig. 128 G 28, poem no. 8.

aptitude for music first became apparent. As a two-year-old child, he was taught to sing the first four lines of a setting of Marot's translation of the Ten Commandments and, having mastered these, proceeded to memorise the remaining thirty-two – much to his parents' astonishment.¹⁰ When a little older, he and his brother were taught the degrees of the scale by their father, who did this by allotting a note to each of the buttons on the sleeves of their winter coats.¹¹ In his seventh year Constantijn began learning to play the viol and, by his own account, soon became quite proficient on the instrument.¹² Less than a year later, Jeronimus van Someren was engaged to teach the boys to play the lute. According to Huygens's account, he was initially reluctant to do so, as he feared that they were too young and their hands too weak to cope with the demands of lute playing, he relented after having heard Constantijn play his viol.¹³ As eight was considered a good age at which to commence lute lessons (both Baron and the Burwell Lute Tutor agree on this)¹⁴ Van Someren's reaction is surprising. Perhaps he had little experience of teaching children, as his argument that the boys' hands were too weak seems to suggest. Actually, this should not have presented a problem, for children's lutes did exist. Mersenne,¹⁵ Mace,¹⁶ and Burwell all say as much, and Praetorius lists not only an alto lute in nominal g', but also trebles in a' and b', as well as small octave lutes in c'' and d'', demonstrating that a wide selection of sizes was available from which to choose.¹⁷ Unambiguous pictorial evidence is harder to find, but the lutenist in the family portrait, painted by Otto van Veen, is undoubtedly a child and is shown playing a lute of an appropriate size (Fig. 2).

¹⁰ *De jeugd van Constantijn Huygens, door hemzelf geschreven*, ed. A.H. Kan (Rotterdam, 1971), p.18.

¹¹ *De jeugd*, p.21.

¹² *De jeugd*, p.24.

¹³ *De jeugd*, p.28.

¹⁴ Ernst Gottlieb Baron, *Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten* (Nuremberg, 1727), p.143; *The Burwell Lute Tutor*, ed. R. Spencer (Leeds, 1974), f.36r.

¹⁵ Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* (Paris, 1636), *Livre second*, p.77.

¹⁶ Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676), p.48.

¹⁷ Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum* (Wolfenbüttel, 1619), ii: *De Organographia*, p.51.



Fig. 2. Otto van Veen, *Portrait of an unknown family*. London, The Weiss Gallery.



Fig. 3. Adult and young boy holding the Raphael Mest lute (photographs in the author's collection).

Which size would seven-year-old Constantijn have needed? Of surviving instruments, the Raphael Mest, in Linköping, might have been suitable. The accompanying photographs show it held by an adult and his son (Fig. 3). The original instrument has a string length of 49.5 cm. The small Venere of the Vienna collection (SAM 35/ old numbering C 39) with a string length of 44 cm would be a better choice for very small children.¹⁸

It is difficult to divine the original purpose of these small instruments, but if they were initially intended for use by children, their charm as ensemble instruments must soon have become apparent during lessons, as teacher accompanied pupil. It is therefore not surprising to learn that there were small lutes in the possession of professional lutenists known to have given lessons. English Gaultier, for example, was granted a warrant for payment of £10 pounds for a 'treble lute [...] to be used in masques',¹⁹ whilst Pinel, who taught the eight-year-old Louis XIV, owned lutes of several different sizes.²⁰ A somewhat veiled reference to children's lutes is suggested by Thomas Salmon's statement that John Rogers taught a high tuning to his scholars (whom today we would call 'pupils').²¹ This has been interpreted as proof that lutes used in 17th-century England were smaller than those used elsewhere in Europe, but it seems far more likely that the high tuning was intended for small lutes suited to the hands of children. After all, only beginners need to be taught a tuning and most of these would have been young.

Little is known of Huygens's own lute lessons, but by piecing together available information one can build up a partial picture. If they followed the usual pattern, these would have been frequent. Daily lessons were not uncommon, as can be understood by this remark in the Burwell Tutor: 'I would not have a beginner play in the absence of his master; therefore he must come as often as he can, at least once a day'.²² Mace records having given two young lady beginners 12 lessons in a month – that is one every two days, excluding Sundays.²³

In later years Huygens complained that his lute lessons had involved an unnecessary amount of repetition which he felt served no purpose, as once fingers had learnt to find their way around the instrument, they could

¹⁸ See also: Susan King, 'Teaching the lute to children; an interview with Anne Bailes', *LSA Quarterly* xlvii/1 (2011), pp.28-9.

¹⁹ Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain* (Oxford, 2001), p.312.

²⁰ *Oeuvres de Pinel*, ed. M. Rollin and J.-M. Vaccaro (Paris, 1982), p.xiii.

²¹ Thomas Salmon, *An Essay to the Advancement of Musick* (London, 1672), p.66, and facing chart entitled 'The Scheme for the Lute'.

²² *Burwell*, f.39r.

²³ Mace, *Musick's Monument*, The preface, p.av.

be relied upon to do so and needed no reminding. His friend, René Descartes, was of a similar opinion, believing that part of a lutenist's memory lay in his fingers.²⁴ By Huygens own account his lessons with Van Someren lasted two years,²⁵ which would be from 1604 until 1606, but a letter dated 1609 shows otherwise. Both Jacques Boogaart and Jan Burgers have drawn attention to this discrepancy, suggesting that, in his old age, Huygens's memory might have been playing tricks on him, or even that some self-glorification might be at hand.²⁶ Whilst not wishing to refute either suggestion, I would like to offer another possible explanation: namely, that it was the intense tuition of the first years, consisting of little more than exercises devoted to mastering technique under the supervision of his teacher, that Huygens considered to have been his period of 'suffering', whilst the ensuing years, when practice was no longer rigidly disciplined, were viewed in another light. Huygens senior's letter (lost, but to which Huygens junior's letter of 1609 is a reply) instructing his son to desist from practising until his return, certainly points to this.²⁷ Presumably there were longer intervals between lessons, and therefore Van Someren's supervision, so that Huygens's father may have wished to be on hand to ensure that his son's music-making did not lead to any mistakes becoming ingrained in his playing. Why else the insistence that Constantijn refrain from practising, particularly as he was on the verge of beginning a new piece after having mastered the last one? All this suggests to me that Huygens no longer thought of his lessons as drill sessions and that the intervals between them finally allowed him to indulge in his own musical inclinations.

Huygens derived great pleasure from singing and playing, as well as the social benefits it brought, some of which are mentioned in his poem *IJet boerighs* ('Something rustic') which also carries the more informative title *Grill oft Haechsche-herder-boeren-luijt-liedt op het Amsterdamsche Visscher-fluijt-riet van Anna Roemers* ('Fantasy or Hague-shepherd-

²⁴ H. Roodenburg, *The eloquence of the body* (Zwolle, 2004), p.13, 'so that a lute player, for instance, has part of his memory in his hands; for the ease of bending and positioning his fingers in various ways' (Letter to Mersenne). See also *ibid.*, p.192, note 14.

²⁵ Constantijn Huygens, *Mijn leven verteld aan mijn kinderen*, transl. F. Blom (Amsterdam, 2003), pp.67-9.

²⁶ J. Boogaart, 'Discreten menheer, my onbekent', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* lvii (2007), pp.141-142; J.W.J. Burgers, *The lute in the Dutch Golden Age. Musical culture in the Netherlands 1580-1670* (Amsterdam, 2013), pp.74-5.

²⁷ *Driehonderd brieven over muziek van, aan en rond Constantijn Huygens*, ed. and trans. R. Rasch, 2 vols. (Hilversum, 2007), ii, p.237. See also footnote 24.

peasant lute song on the Amsterdam Visscher-flute-reed of Anna Roemers').²⁸ It helped make the acquaintance of members of the opposite sex, as well as being a means of gaining entry to more elevated circles. This was certainly the case in England where Huygens sang and played for King James (after the latter had been assured that it was not Huygens's profession),²⁹ as well as at one of Lady Killigrew's gatherings – a brave act considering that his performance was sandwiched between those of Nicholas Lanier and Jacques Gaultier.³⁰

The opening of the poem *IJet boerighs* gives such a detailed description of a lute that it must have been Huygens's own:

Roomsch gespann, Veneetsche berders,
Tweede vrijster van ons' herders,
Haeghsche maecksel, Fransche kropp,
Fransche stelling, Haeghsche kopp,
Haeghsch – Veneetsche – Fransche spanen ...

(Roman set, Venetian boards,
Second muse of us shepherds,
Hague made, French neck,
French manner, Hague head,
Hague – Venetian – French ribs ...)

If the first impression is one of a cosmopolitan instrument made from woods gathered from all over Europe and expertly fashioned by a lute maker working in The Hague, on reflection, a different picture emerges: one more in keeping with the 17th-century French practice of re-necking and re-barring old lutes to conform to the newest fashion. Lest there be any doubt, this modernisation was not simply a matter of recycling (there was no ecological thinking involved), but an appreciation of the superior quality of old lutes to those newly made. Various authors attest to this. Piccinini praised their quality whilst lamenting their scarcity, which, in his opinion, had been caused by the French buying them up at any price asked.³¹ The Burwell Tutor put the matter of comparison between old and new bluntly, 'modern lutes, that is those made in our days, they are made

²⁸ In both the 1658 and the 1672 editions of Constantijn Huygens, *Koren-bloemen*, the poem bears the title *Boeren-tael* (Rustic talk). See ed. Leerintveld (footnote 2 above), ii, pp.173-5.

²⁹ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, ii, p.253.

³⁰ Huygens, *Mijn leven*, pp.127-9.

³¹ Alessandro Piccinini, *Intavolatura di livto, et di chitarrone* (Bologna, 1623), cap. XXVIII, p.A2.

only in France and very few are good for anything'.³² Mace was more diplomatic, though still insistent that 'an old lute is better than a new one'.³³ The old Bologna lutes were indeed the most prized, but difficult to come by and often very expensive. Venetian, Florentine and Paduan instruments were reasonable alternatives, for they were not as old and in greater supply, therefore less expensive. Miss Burwell's teacher approved their use, and Thomas Mace, with a realistic appraisal of the situation, noted that 'Venice lutes are commonly good'.³⁴

But to the description in the poem; by listing the instrument's component parts according to place of origin, a chequered past emerges.

Rome:	Set
Venice:	boards (= soundboard); ribs
France:	neck, ribs
The Hague:	head; ribs; assembled/constructed/repared

As none of the locations mentioned were known as sources of wood supply – Venice in particular, would have been hard pressed to do so – the significance of the locations must lie elsewhere. Rome is mentioned by diverse authors, including John Dowland and the Burwell Tutor, as a source for good strings.³⁵ In a letter to Huygens, the French lutenist Vincent reported having purchased some for him there.³⁶ Venice had long been famous as a centre for lute making, whilst France had inherited Italy's reputation as the centre for all that was seen to be fashionable in the lute and lute playing. Paris, in particular, was home to many of the leading players and teachers of the day, as well as various makers. The Hague had no specific connection with the lute, but was where Huygens was born, and spent much of his life.

With this information in mind, a possible interpretation of Huygens's description of his lute can be attempted. The Roman 'set' must refer to a set of strings. The presence of a Venetian soundboard and Venetian ribs points to these parts belonging together, the lute having been made in that city and, by extension, that it was probably old. The presence of ribs from France and The Hague suggests that the body had sustained damage on two separate occasions and was repaired in these locations. Quite probably

³² *Burwell Tutor*, f.3r.

³³ Mace, *Musick's Monument*, p.48.

³⁴ *Burwell Tutor*, f.3r; Mace, *Musick's Monument*, p.48.

³⁵ Robert Dowland, *A varietie of lute lessons* (London, 1610), f.Dv; *Burwell Tutor*, f.7r.

³⁶ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, ii, pp.271-2.

the 'French neck' was fitted on the same occasion that the first lot of repair work was carried out on the back. The instrument might even have been part of the workshop stock, for it was common for makers to keep a selection of old Italian lutes – in various states of repair – ready to be adapted to the latest fashion, as inventories of Parisian makers attest.³⁷ Converting a lute could involve not only re-necking and fitting a new bridge (to accommodate more strings), but also re-barring the table (if considered necessary), as well as repairing cracks and replacing broken ribs with new ones. The 'French neck' of the poem might simply mean that a new neck was fitted in France; but in conjunction with the term *Fransche stelling*, which follows it in the poem, I suspect that this could be a reference to the new style French neck, which was longer and had room for ten tied frets. This was first mentioned by Dowland in 1610.³⁸

Coming, as it does, on the heels of 'French neck', *Fransche stelling* might be Huygens's way of drawing the reader's attention to this new sort of neck. However, it has been pointed out that the word *stelling* usually means 'tuning'.³⁹ I doubt if this is the case here as the normal tuning used in France at this time was no different from that used in the rest of Europe. Granted, Francisque, Besard, and Van den Hove all make use of a *scordatura*,⁴⁰ but this is only used in a small number of pieces. It strikes me that, in the context of Huygens's poem, *stelling* should be understood as 'arrangement', 'manner' or 'style'. As far as I can recall, the only features which can be said to distinguish a lute made in the French style are its longer neck (Dowland) and greater number of courses. Besard mentions the latter in his *Isagoge in artem testudinariam* of 1617, writing that in Italy and France it was customary for lutes to have ten or more courses.⁴¹ An oblique reference to this usage can also be found in Vallet's *Regia pietas* (1620), where he writes of *l'ancienne mode* of playing on seven courses as opposed to eight, nine and ten.⁴² Whatever the interpretation, by the time Huygens had written his poem, lutes of nine and ten courses were the norm in France. Also worth noting is a setting of

³⁷ *Instruments et luthiers parisiens, xvii- xix siècles*, collected F. Gétéreau (Alençon, 1988), pp.26, 28, 30, 32.

³⁸ Dowland, *A varietie*, f.D2.

³⁹ My thanks to Rudolph Rasch for spirited discussion on this point.

⁴⁰ Antoine Francisque, *Le trésor d'Orphée* (Paris, 1600), ff.22-4; Jean Baptiste Besard, *Thesavrus harmonicvs* (Cologne, 1603), ff.146v-8, 168v-9; Joachim van den Hove, *Florida* (Utrecht, 1601), ff.105-6r. On the *scordatura* by Van den Hove, see the chapter by F.-P. Goy in this book.

⁴¹ Jean Baptiste Besard, *Isagoge in artem tesudinariam* (Augsburg, 1617), p.2.

⁴² Nicolas Vallet, *Regia pietas* (Amsterdam, 1620), Advertissement, f.2v.

Huygens's text 'Tu voilà donc, bel oeil' (thought to be in his hand) which calls for voice and a ten-course lute in *vieil ton*.⁴³

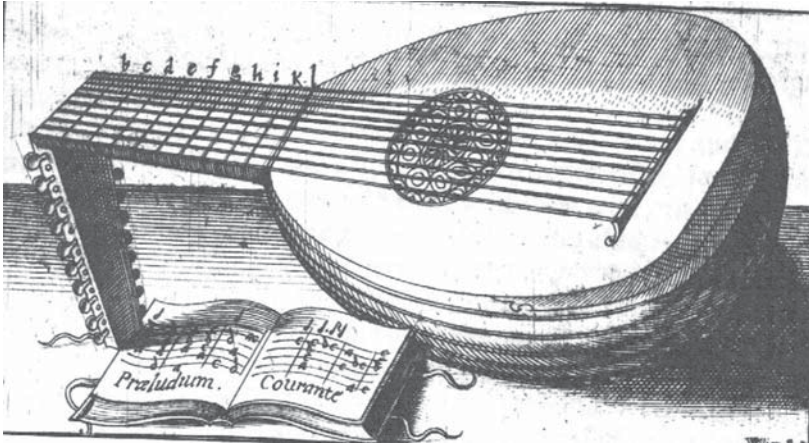


Fig. 4. Detail from the title-page of Jean Baptist Besard, *Isagoge* (Augsburg, 1617).

Having cautioned against taking the term 'French neck' at face value, it is probably wise to reflect on the term 'Hague head' as, this too, might have another interpretation. Clearly repair work was carried out in The Hague and this might have involved replacing the peg box as well as several ribs. If the usual peg box configuration was involved then Huygens's lute would probably have resembled the one shown on the title page of Besard's *Isagoge* (Fig. 4).

There is another possibility, but before going into that I would like to draw attention to the dating of the poem from which this description comes. It was written in 1619, one year after Huygens's first stay in England. *De uytländighe herder*, which dates from late 1622 and was partially written during his second English visit, also makes mention of a lute from The Hague, calling it a *Haechsche herder tromp*. Bearing in mind the short space of time that had elapsed between the writing of the two poems, it seems likely that both refer to the same instrument. But five years later, Thomas de Keyser's portrait of Huygens, dated 1627 shows, what I take to be, the sitter's instrument lying along with other objects on a

⁴³ Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, manuscript KA 41. See also L.P. Grijp, 'Melodieën bij teksten van Huygens', in *Veelzijdigheid als levensvorm*, ed. A.Th. van Deursen, E.K. Grootes, P.E.L. Verkuyt (Deventer, 1987), pp.89-108, at pp.96-7.

table behind him (Fig. 5).⁴⁴ Could this be the same instrument as that mentioned in the poems of 1619 and 1622? If so, is this a ‘Hague head’ that can be seen, for the instrument shown in the painting has got a special type of pegbox? Unfortunately it is only partially visible, but it does share characteristics with pegbox constructions found in Dutch and Flemish paintings of a similar period, even if its exact shape remains unclear.



Fig. 5. Thomas de Keyser, *Portrait of Constantijn Huygens*, dated 1627. London, National Gallery.

⁴⁴ I know of two other paintings by Thomas de Keyser showing a lute: *A musician and his daughter* (Metropolitan museum of art, Washington) which shows a gentleman holding what is quite clearly an instrument with a pegbox configuration reminiscent of that of the Tieffenbrucker archlute in the collection of the Kunsthistorisches museum, Vienna (SAM 41/ old numbering C45); *The duet* (Musée des beaux arts, Rouen) which shows a man, viewed from the rear, playing a lute with a bent-back peg box. In view of this, as well as Huygens fastidiousness, it is most likely that the instrument in his portrait was his own, not a studio prop.



Fig. 6. Pieter Codde, *Joueuse de theorbe*. Strasbourg, Musée des beaux-arts.

Does the treble side of the pegbox curve inwards, as on the instruments in a painting by Pieter Codde (Fig. 6); or has it got a straight edge similar to that of the theorbo head of Mace's dyphone (Fig. 7)?⁴⁵ After all, the painting does date from after Huygens's third stay in England, so the pegbox construction could be a product of English, rather than Dutch or Flemish taste. It is not even clear how many pegs are on the treble side of the peg-box. Nine are visible, but what does the sash cover? Is it draped over the pegbox at the point at which it curves inwards and narrows; or is it concealing a peg of a straight-edged pegbox? Moreover, similar heads occur on both small instruments (as, for example, in a painting by David Teniers which is now in the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Havana) and medium-sized instruments (compare the painting by Pieter Codde), making it difficult to determine whether Huygens's instrument should be considered a lute or a theorbo. Even if it is not the instrument of the poems, the style of the head might still be similar. Whatever it may have been, its main function was probably that of an accompanying instrument, for this type of pegbox configuration is mostly encountered in paintings, showing an ensemble setting or someone in the act of singing to such an instrument – making it an excellent choice for Huygens.

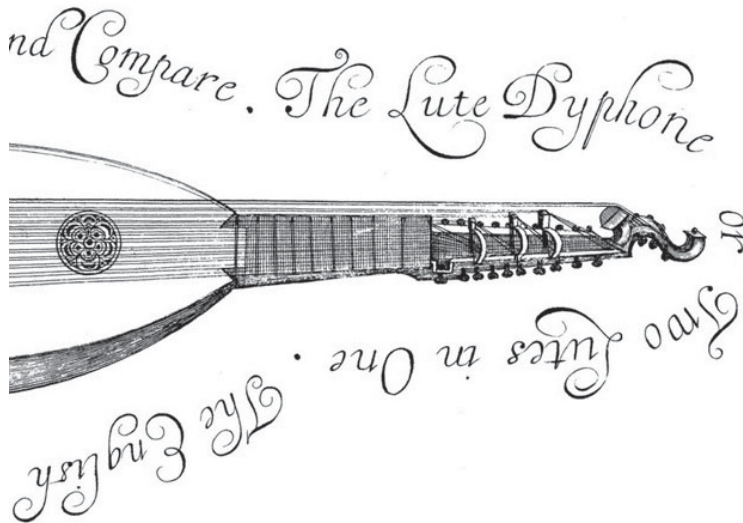


Fig. 7. Detail of head of the lute-dyphone from Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676).

⁴⁵ Mace, *Musick's Monument*, p.32.

It would be a pity to end without having touched on Huygens's lute connoisseurship. The replies from Jacques Gaultier and Frédéric Rivet to Huygens's letters requesting the former to search for an old Bologna lute are particularly illuminating in this matter. The first group of letters shows that Gaultier underestimated Huygens knowledge of instruments.⁴⁶ Despite Gaultier's claim that the lute he was offering was the best that he had ever heard of this size ('le plus excellent que j'aye jamais ouy de sa grandeur'),⁴⁷ Huygens remained unimpressed, finding it, at 30 pounds sterling, too expensive. Was Gaultier's astonishment at Huygens's refusal to buy feigned or genuine? Whatever, Gaultier must have realised that he was dealing with someone with experience in lute matters. The second round of correspondence is of note, not only because of Huygens's hesitancy to purchase a lute which Gaultier clearly considered to be very special, but also because of Gaultier's words of counsel concerning the best manner of judging the instrument:

Le vray moyen de le bien comparer c'est d'en jouer souvent et lors vous trouverez que dans sa taille et son armonnie, en sa force en sa douceur vous n'en trouverez plus que se puisse comparer.⁴⁸

Gaultier's words flow elegantly from the pen, but the many-faceted nature of 'armonnie', 'force' and 'douceur' render it nigh impossible to find suitable English equivalents.⁴⁹ Consequently, the following translation

⁴⁶ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, ii, letters: 3940A, 3942, 3958, 3958A, 4043, pp.716-30.

⁴⁷ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, ii, letter 3940A.

⁴⁸ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, ii, letter 4970A, pp.946-8.

⁴⁹ In the first edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (Paris, 1694), the following remark accompanies the definition of the word 'harmonie': 'Il se dit aussi quelquefois, ou d'une voix seul, lors qu'elle est sonore, nette et douce, ou d'un instrument qui rend un son fort agreable. L'harmonie de sa voix, l'harmonie de son luth'. From this it would appear that 'armonnie' should be understood as all that goes to make up a beautiful sound: a pleasing tone, good balance between the registers, as well as an agreeable interplay between overtones. – The word 'force' has many interpretations, depending on the context. In the case of Gaultier's letter, it would appear to refer to that strength of sound enabling a lute to project well, as well as retain a good tone and resonance when played vigorously. 'Douceur' is translated as 'sweetnes, pleasantnes, softnes' in Randle Cotgrave's *A dictionarie of the French and English tongues* (London, 1611), and is probably how Gaultier intended it to be understood. I am indebted to Claude Chauvel for advice on the interpretation and translation of the French; also to Michael Lowe for help in selecting English words which might best serve to encourage reflection on the meaning of the Gaultier's text.

serves only as a point of departure for the understanding of Gaultier's counsel: 'The best way of comparing it is to play it often, and then you will find that in its size and its harmony, in its strength and sweetness of sound, no other can compare with it.' Such a remark could have been written yesterday, for it echoes present-day sentiment in judging an instrument. With this one sentence, one can feel Gaultier reaching out to us across the centuries.

It has been suggested that the reason for Huygens's reaction was that he felt it inappropriate to purchase an item that had been part of the properties belonging to Charles I and used to pay off outstanding debts during his imprisonment.⁵⁰ But were this so, why did Huygens ask Gaultier to ship the lute to Holland so that he could try it? Surely the thought would have already occurred to him. I think that the reason is more mundane: Huygens felt that, for all its qualities, this instrument, too, was overpriced. Gaultier was dealing with a connoisseur, not a simple shepherd-boy looking for a *herder tromp*.

⁵⁰ Lisa Jardine, *De reputatie van Constantijn Huygens: netwerker of virtuoos?* (Amsterdam, 2008), pp.34-5.

‘A GOOSE AMONG SWANS’:
THE CONNECTIONS AND CORRESPONDENCE
BETWEEN JACQUES GAULTIER
AND CONSTANTIJN HUYGENS

MATTHEW SPRING

TO M. HENRY LAWES by Robert Herrick
Touch but thy lyre, my Harry, and I hear
From thee some raptures of the rare Gotiere;

A Lyric to Mirth
Death will come and mar the song:
Then shall Wilson and Gotiere
Never sing or play more here.¹

Biography

Jacques Gaultier's surviving lute music, at least that which can be attributed by name, constitutes little more than a handful of pieces, only one of which has a good number of concordances and whose currency clearly outlived him. As the quotations from Herrick's *Hesperides* (1648) suggest, Gaultier was a distinguished player and a larger than life musical personality at the Caroline court. He was representative of a French aesthetic, cultivated across the arts by those around Queen Henrietta Maria, that was in stark contrast to the old native traditions of Elizabethan England that had lived on into the Jacobean period. To many this was abhorrent, dandified and foreign. Yet others were spellbound. One who was impressed by Gaultier was the young Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687). This paper reviews their correspondence, and adds some more facts and questions about the contact between the two. My starting point is La

¹ R. Herrick, *The Hesperides & Noble Numbers*, ed. Alfred Pollard, 2 vols. (London and New York, 1898), i, nos.851, 111; pp.94, 47.

Laurencie's 1924 article on Gaultier,² but I am particularly indebted to Rudolph Rasch for his 2007 edition of the collected letters of Constantijn Huygens on music.³

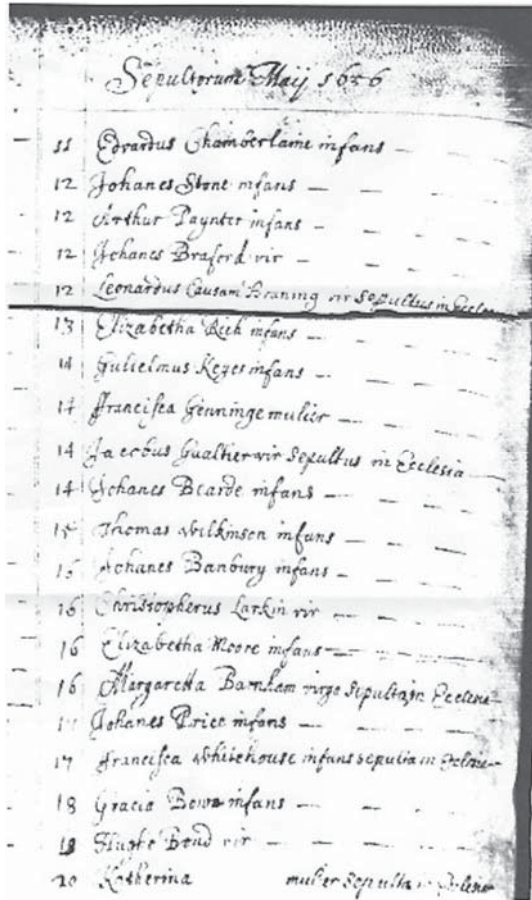


Fig. 1. London Metropolitan Archives, St Martin-in-the-Field parish registers, iv: burials, 14 May 1656.

² L. de la Laurencie, 'Le luthiste Jacques Gaultier', *La Revue Musicale* v/3 (1924), pp.33-9.

³ R. Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven over muziek van, aan en rond Constantijn Huygens*, 2 vols. (Hilversum, 2007). The letters edited by Rasch can be consulted also on the internet:

<http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens>.

Jacques Gaultier's burial, which has escaped notice until now, was registered on 14 May 1656 in the parish registers of St Martin in the Fields.⁴ (Fig. 1) The register notes that 'Jacobus Gualtier vir Sepultus in Ecclesia'. He had been listed as a 'stranger resident in Westminster' in 1627, and in 1635 as living in the parish of St Margaret's, Westminster.⁵ In 1627 he was living in Drury Lane and he was there again in 1652; the *English Journal* of Constantijn's youngest son, Lodewijck, mentions that on 9 January 1652, 'we found him in Drury Lane, and when we came he was busy teaching one of his children to play the lute. I gave him a letter and delivered the message Papa had entrusted to me; he bade me to come and listen to him sometime'.⁶ Lodewijck visited Gaultier nine times during his short stay in England between 1651 and 1652, and did indeed listen to him playing.⁷ It seems that Gaultier supported himself at this time by teaching (on another visit he stops his teaching of two young ladies to play to Lodewijck),⁸ though one cannot be sure if the child he was teaching on the 9 January was actually his own or simply his pupil. I suspect the latter, as I can find no record of Gaultier's children from the parish registers.

Gaultier married Elizabeth West at St Faith's Church in the city of London on 17 May 1633. She was aged 21, a spinster of Christ Church London, 'her parent dead; consent of her uncle John West of same par[ish]'.⁹ St Faith's and Christ Church were near St Paul's Cathedral and were both destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666. Gaultier was born around 1600 as the marriage licence gives his age as 33, and says that he was a resident of the parish of St Dunstan's West in the City of London at that time. In royal accounts for 10 March 1637 the couple are mentioned as 'Monsier Geteere the Queenes srvant & his wife'.¹⁰ Money was paid out for his wages in 1647 and 1649 long after the court had left London.¹¹ The last two mentions of Gaultier are on 5 July 1652 when Lodewijck 'rode out at four o'clock and first went to see Sir Robert Stone, then Gaultier,

⁴ London Metropolitan Archives, St Martin-in-the-Field parish registers, iv: burials, 14 May 1656.

⁵ A. Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, 9 vols. (Aldershot, 1986-1996), viii, pp.96, 114.

⁶ Lodewijck Huygens: *The English Journal 1651-1652*, ed. and transl. A.G.H. Bachrach and R.G. Collmer (Leiden, 1982), p.49.

⁷ Huygens, *English Journal*, pp.24, 49, 71, 85, 93, 94, 108, 149, 151.

⁸ Huygens, *English Journal*, p.108.

⁹ Allegations for Marriage Licences Issued by the Bishop of London, 1611-1828, 2 vols. (London, 1887; the Harleian Society 26), ii, p.211.

¹⁰ Ashbee, *Records*, viii, p.125.

¹¹ Ashbee, *Records*, v, pp.21, 22.

who told me that his wife had become insane two months ago', and on Wednesday the 10 July, five days later, he says goodbye to Gaultier.¹²

As part of his mission Lodewijck had express orders to find Gaultier and to deliver a letter from his father Constantijn. Lodewijck's *English Journal* for Tuesday 6 February 1652 has, 'In the morning I rode to Gaultier's and with him to Cruso's in order to have a look at Papa's lutes', and it is reasonable to suppose that the letter had to do with the acquisition of lutes for Sir Constantijn.¹³ The fact that there is little information on the burial, and no will or probate, suggests that we must take seriously the plea from Gaultier in his letter to Sir Constantijn of 1649, that the only thing he owned was his lute after 30 years of service, and that was part owned by his wife.¹⁴ Interestingly, his place among the King's Musick was one of the first to be reassigned in 1660 (to John Rogers), suggesting that it was well known by the Court officials that he had died.¹⁵ His birth in or around 1600 means that he was close in age to both Denis and Pierre Gaultier.

It seems a sad ending to the life of such a prominent musician and star of the Caroline court. Several scholars, from Lionel de La Laurencie (1927), Ian Spink (1964), Andrew Ashbee (1998), to Rudolf Rasch (2007) and Jan Burgers (2013) have written about Jacques Gaultier.¹⁶ The question of what happened to Gaultier after 1652 can at least be answered. He did not leave London, and died in straitened circumstances before the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 that would have seen his prospects improve. But the question remains as to why he did not leave Britain like his friends and colleagues Ditrich Steoffken and Nicholas Lanier, who were also correspondents of Constantijn.¹⁷ Indeed why did he not go to The Hague where Constantijn might have been able to help?

I would suggest the reason his death has been missed until now is that he is listed as 'Jacobus Gaultier', with the 'u' and 'a' reversed. Indeed one

¹² Huygens, *English Journal*, pp.149. 151.

¹³ Huygens, *English Journal*, p.85. [Antony] Robert from Paris had been staying with Gaultier.

¹⁴ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, Letter 4950A, ii, p.944.

¹⁵ Ashbee, *Records*, i, p.2, June 1660.

¹⁶ Laurencie, 'Le luthiste'; I. Spink, 'Another Gaultier affair', *Music and Letters*, xlv (1964), pp.345-7; A. Ashbee, D. Lasocki, P. Holman, F. Kisby, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485-1714*, 2 vols, (Aldershot, 1998), i, pp.469-70; ed. Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, i, p.170; J.W.J. Burgers, *The Lute in the Dutch Golden Age* (Amsterdam, 2013), pp.77-9.

¹⁷ T. Crawford, 'Constantijn Huygens and the "Engelsche Viool"', *Chelys* xviii (1989), pp.41-60.

of the most frustrating aspects of researching the biography and music of Jacques Gaultier is that there are four lutenists who shared the surname at the same time, and any number of spelling variants are found – in both French and English. In preparing this paper these are the variants used in 17th-century texts and music that I encountered: Gaultier, Gualtier, Gootiere, Gottier, Gawtier, Gwaltier, Gautier, Gauthier, Goutero, Gothier, Goutie, Gootier, Gottier, Gouttier, Goter, Gattier, Galtiere, Geteere, Goetier.

Lutes and Lute Sources

There are only six lute pieces that are ascribed in their titles or by concordance to 'Jacques Gaultier' or 'Gaultier D'Angleterre' in tunings other than *vieil ton*, though they exist in a good number of manuscripts. One of these pieces, an Allemande, appears in eight lute versions, as well in versions for keyboard and lyra-viol (Figs. 2 and 3).¹⁸ The Board manuscript version of this piece is possibly an early variant for ten-course lute.¹⁹ Only in the opening phrase is the first string used and in some versions it is tuned at a different pitch. In the second section of the Board version, six bars from the end the melody jumps an octave, whereas in most other sources it does not. This may be to avoid the very low strings that the melody inhabits – a characteristic found in several of Gaultier's pieces (the trio of pieces in Panmure 8, GB-En Ms. 9451, for instance). One of two versions in the Werl manuscript puts the whole Allemande up a fourth, and it is in a different tuning.²⁰ The Board manuscript has dotted rhythms throughout the first section whereas other sources ignore this altogether. This may be because for some players the rhythmic inequality of the French allemande was implicit in the nature of the piece, but to others new to the style it may have needed to be written in. The keyboard version of the piece is perhaps the most coherent; otherwise the overriding feature of the versions collectively is their lack of consistency.²¹ This must be a reflection of the times in which Jacques Gaultier worked when the

¹⁸ I am grateful to François-Pierre Goy, for access to his forthcoming online *Gaultier-Verzeichnis* of all the music by the Gaultiers. Lute versions of the piece are: F-Pn Rés. Vma. ms. 1404, f.53r; GB-Lam Ms. 603, f.35v/2; GB-Lbl Add. MS 63852, f.85v; GB-Mp BRm 832 Vu 51, S. 111, *Preludiu*; US-LAuc M286 M4 L 992, f.7r; D-Mbs Mus. ms. 21646, f.78r/2; D-Mbs Mus. ms. 21646, f.78v/1; XX-UND Bensbergh, Nr.31.

¹⁹ GB-Lam Ms. 603, f.35v/2, *an alman*.

²⁰ D-Mbs Mus. ms. 21646, f.78v/1, [Allemande] 3 *Gottier*.

²¹ GB-En Ms. 9449, ff.5v-6r, *Almayne* [s.n.] (Lady Jean Campbell's book).

instrument and its tunings were undergoing significant change. The piece was certainly known on the continent and was still in circulation in Britain after the Restoration as it appears attributed to 'Mr Goter' as a lyra-viol piece in Playford's *Musick's Recreation on the Lyra-Viol* of 1661.

There are over 55 pieces in renaissance tuning (*vieil ton*) that John Robinson has identified with ascriptions to 'Gaultier'.²² Most of these must date from around 1620 or before, and are usually ascribed to Ennemond Gaultier, but we cannot be sure. There are a further number of pieces in transitional tunings attributed to a 'Gaultier' in various spellings which might be by Jacques, apart from the six that are attributed explicitly. What seems certain is that Jacques Gaultier's true profile as a composer of lute music will not be known without some major new discovery.

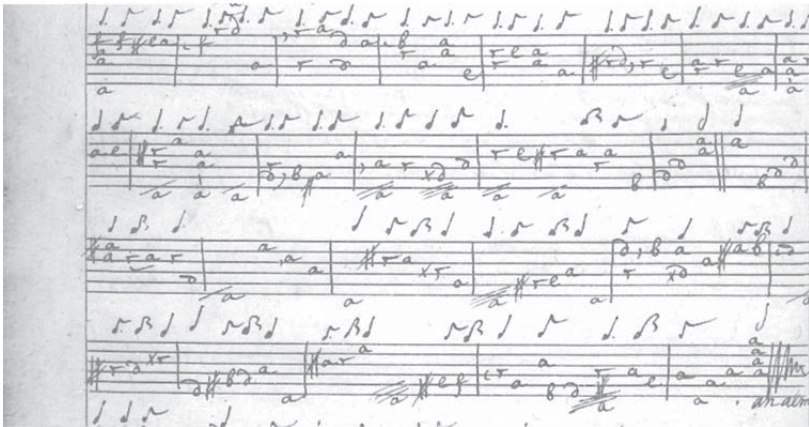
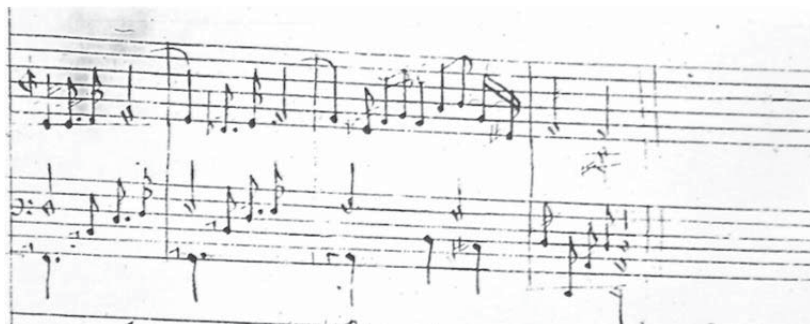


Fig. 2. Version of the Allemande by Jacques Gaultier in the Board MS

Of the 'Gaultier' attributions in *vieil ton* perhaps the most interesting musically are those in the Herbert of Cherbury manuscript. On Lord Herbert's appointment as English Ambassador in Paris (1619-24), one of the first problems he had to deal with was the aftermath of Gaultier's flight to England in 1617 and his consequent imprisonment in 1618. The affair had dragged on for some time as Herbert wrote on the 29 July 1619 to Sir Robert Naunton, secretary of James I, 'concerning Gautier whoe for haueing killed a braue French Gentleman and of a noble house in a most base fashion fled to England, where for his excellling on ye lute, he was

²² John Robinson, 'A selection of lute solos in *vieil ton* tuning ascribed to Gaultier' *Lute News* xlii (June 1997).

receyved to ye ffauor of my Lo. the Marques Buckingham'.²³ Herbert was active in the attempt by the French to have Gaultier extradited, unsuccessful due to the protection of the Duke of Buckingham. Yet this is just the time that we suppose Herbert was collecting pieces by French lutenists. These pieces would later be copied into his lute book both by himself and another anonymous scribe.



Figs 3. Version of the Allemande by Jacques Gaultier in the Panmure 8 MS.

²³ *Old Herbert and Papers at Powis Castle and in the British Museum*, ed. M.C. Jones, (Collections Historical and Archeological relating to Montgomeryshire issued by the Powys-Land Club, 1886), p.236.

It is interesting, though something of an aside, to note that Herbert was still pursuing his musical interests around 1640 when he added his last own compositions to the manuscript. In 1638 Herbert wished to employ an Irish harper but one that could read music, as there is a letter from Francis Lloyd the steward of his Irish estate in Castlesisland, County Kerry, dated 26 November 1638 which includes the lines ‘Your Irish harper shall be welcome if he can play by the book after the English manner and speak good English’.²⁴ The remains of Herbert’s beloved Montgomery castle, which he fought to maintain during the Civil War but which was subsequently pulled down in 1649, produced a full set of unused Irish harp pins in 1967. The pins were probably set aside in one of the workshop or storage buildings in the inner ward of the castle and forgotten after plans to have a harp made for them were never realised.²⁵ Herbert spoke Welsh and was proud of his Welsh ancestry. Though this is unrelated to the question of the attribution of the Gaultier pieces in his lute manuscript it does reveal another side to Herbert’s musical interests around 1640.

The archetypal lute for Dutch mid 17th-century painters like Ter Borch, Van Mieris, and Netscher is the 12-course lute – the type of lute whose invention is credited to Jacques Gaultier by the author of the Burwell lute tutor (Fig. 4).²⁶ It is odd that there is relatively little in the way of lute sources from the Netherlands in this period, given that there are so many pictures of lutes in Dutch paintings of the period 1617-56. Of course this can be explained in part by other factors – that the lute was employed for its symbolism, the fact that artists used lutes as props, and that they may have them used in proportion training. On the other hand, there are four Goëss manuscripts with lute and viol music that originate from the Dutch republic in the period 1655-70, and we have also Louys de Moy’s *Le Petite Boucquet de Frise Oriental* (1631) which contains only French music, including five pieces ascribed to ‘Gaultier’. The *Boucquet* has no place of publication but uses the same typeface as that of books by Van den Hove published in Leiden and Utrecht, and may originate from the

²⁴ Sean Donnelly: ‘The Irish Harp in England’, *Ceol* vii (1984), pp.54-62. This article contains a reference to the letter from Lloyd to Herbert, regarding possible employment of an Irish harper (p.58). The letter is published with other Herbert family correspondence in *Herbert Correspondence*, ed. W.J. Smith (Cardiff, 1963), p.99.

²⁵ I am grateful to Karen Loomis for this information.

²⁶ *The Burwell Lute Tutor*, facsimile with an introductory study by Robert Spencer (Leeds, 1974), f.68r.

Dutch Republic.²⁷ Had Constantijn Huygens's own music collection survived this relative lack of Dutch sources would not have occurred. We know that Jacques Gaultier sent pieces with some of his letters to Huygens who admired his music.²⁸ Huygens not only collected music all his life, but also composed over 800 pieces, by his own reckoning, including a significant proportion of lute pieces. In his will he left three manuscripts of his lute compositions that do not survive but they were commented on in the 18th century; the first manuscript alone contained 115 pieces.²⁹



Fig. 4. Gerard ter Borch, *The lute lesson*. With 12-course lute. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum.

²⁷ Burgers, *The Lute in Dutch Golden Age*, pp.106, 140; Louys de Moy, *Le Petit Bouquet de Frise orientale* (n.p., 1631), facsimile reprint (Peer, 1987). Pieces on ff.10v, 11r, 16r, 17r, 20r.

²⁸ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, ii, p.836, letter 4680A.

²⁹ Burgers, *The Lute in Dutch Golden Age*, pp.107-9; Crawford, 'Huygens and the "Engelsche Viool"', p.44.

Gaultier and Huygens 1617-25

The links between Constantijn Huygens and Jacques Gaultier were forged during the final six years of James I's reign when, over the course of four visits to Britain between 1618 and 1624, Constantijn learnt his trade as a diplomat. In these visits he actively used his musical accomplishments to make his mark, and develop friendships, especially among women. Constantijn played a number of instruments. He learnt the lute from the age of seven first from Jeronimus van Someren,³⁰ and played to James I on his first trip of 1618 in the train of Sir Dudley Carleton, the new Ambassador to the United Provinces. In a letter to his parents written on 14 July about events that took place on 10 July, Constantijn relates that the King had arrived at Caron House with Prince Charles, with the Earls of Arundel and Montgomery, Buckingham and Hamilton, to eat London-grown Dutch cherries in the garden. Caron House was the Lambeth home of Sir Noel de Caron (the Dutch Ambassador to England). The King apparently enjoyed picking the cherries himself. Afterwards he and his party viewed the picture gallery. This was followed by the kissing of the royal hands by foreigners presented to him by Caron. During the meal the Prince served the King and Caron introduced Huygens saying that he (Huygens) played the lute, '*sans toutefois ester du mestier*' ('without, however, it being his profession').³¹ The King then commanded Huygens to perform on the lute. Afterwards the King also questioned Constantijn about a duel fought at The Hague, as the King had a horror of duels and they had been prohibited in England since 1614.³²

The second time Huygens played to the King was due to a chance thunderstorm at Bagshot some days later. The King and the royal hunting party had retired to their apartments in order to have a game of cards with his 'grand mignon; the Marquess of Bucking and other gentlemen of the chamber'. Two hours later a summons came for Constantijn to appear with his lute to play again for the King.³³ Although the King was 'little given to music' he spoke to him '*avec un visage doux et sousriant*' ('with a sweet and smiling face').³⁴ Huygens had done well enough for the Ambassador to be told to present him to Queen Anne, whom the King thought would

³⁰ Crawford, 'Huygens and the "Engelsche Viool"', pp.43-4.

³¹ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, ii, 253, letter 50.

³² Rosalie L. Colie, '*Some thankfulness to Constantine*': a study of English influence upon the early works of Constantijn Huygens (The Hague, 1956), p.20.

³³ A.G.H. Bachrach, *Sir Constantine Huygens and Britain 1596-1687: a Pattern of Cultural Exchange (1596-1619)* (Leiden and London, 1962), pp.179, 180.

³⁴ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, ii, p.258, letter 56.

appreciate the lute-playing apprentice diplomat. About a year later Constantijn wrote a poem addressed to his lute and a monarch who had listened to 'a vagrant shepherd'.³⁵

It was on his third and longest visit to London (5 December 1621 to 1 March 1623) that Constantijn was welcomed into the London home of the courtier and Cornish knight, Sir Robert Killigrew (c.1580-1633), at Lothbury in the heart of the City of London. Sir Robert, Ambassador to the United Provinces though he never took up office, had married Francis Bacon's niece, Lady Mary neé Woodhouse (d.1656), around 1604. It was here that Constantijn was introduced to court ways and behaviour and, as suggested by Lisa Jardine, he may have had a flirtation with Mary and come under her influence.³⁶ Sir Robert's uncle Sir Henry had been the English resident in The Hague back in 1588 and contacts between the Killigrew and Huygens families may have gone back to that time. Robert Killigrew was a leading follower first of Robert Carr, and then of Buckingham, and his house drew in a glittering and diverse cultural circle that included John Donne, Francis Bacon, Nicholas Lanier, Jacques Gaultier, and Cornelius Drebbel. The couple had 12 children and this large and impressive royalist family produced courtiers, playwrights, artists and musicians.

In Constantijn's long poem *De vita propria sermonum inter liberos libri II*, written for his children in 1678, Huygens relates events in his earlier life. In part of the poem he gives an account of a musical evening at the home of Sir Robert. Here he expresses his admiration for Lady Mary, his hostess, who evidently sang to her own accompaniment: 'That whole house was one concert. The ravishing hostess, mother of (it still surprises me) a dozen children, with her snow-white throat treated us to divine singing, while accompanying her heavenly songs on the lute as if the Thracian hand itself touched the strings.'³⁷ On the subject of Gaultier's playing Constantijn had the following to say: 'The one to continue the feast (and how!) was Gaultier. The name only should be enough to underline his greatness sufficiently, were it not that, in the opinion of the English and without objections on my part, he raised himself above the Gaultiers. Heavenly Gods! With what passionate hands, right and left, did

³⁵ Bachrach, *Sir Constantine Huygens*, 182.

³⁶ Lisa Jardine, 'In search of the real Dorothee van Dorp', *De zeventiende eeuw* xxv/2: *Vrouwen rondom Huygens* (2009), pp.37-52.

³⁷ Burgers, *The Lute in Dutch Golden Age*, p. 78, from Huygens, *Mijn leven verteld aan mijn kinderen in twee boeken*, ed. and trans. Frans Blom, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 2003), i, p.127 (Amsterdam, 2003), lines 187-91.

he succeed in lifting me out of my sense again and again'.³⁸ It seems that Constantijn himself played at the Killigrew soirées as he mentions that 'Even though I was a quacking goose among all those elegant swans, my contribution (who will believe it?) was not altogether scorned.' The English adventures of Constantijn Huygens and especially his literary endeavours after the third visit resulted in his being knighted by James I. But in all this his musical skills undoubtedly helped him gain royal attention, and acceptance into the highest cultural and diplomatic circles.

Constantijn maintained an interest in and corresponded with several members of the Killigrew family into old age. Sir Robert died in 1633, but in Gaultier's letter of 1649 to Constantijn we learn that Lady Mary, now Lady Stafford (she married Sir Thomas Stafford, Earl of Totnes), had been consulted about a lute but could not respond as she was ill.³⁹ Evidently, like Constantijn, Gaultier also kept his contacts with Lady Mary at least until 1649. The eldest of the 12 Killigrew children, William (1606-95), was a courtier and playwright, and his wife, Mary Hill, was a close friend to Henrietta Maria. The third son, Thomas Killigrew, the famous theatre manager and playwright, was one of the two first licencees of the re-opened theatres after the Restoration (William Davenant was the other). He had been one of the most colourful and interesting characters of the Caroline court, and spent periods abroad, including some time in the Low Countries where in The Hague he married Charlotte de Hesse in 1655. His youngest daughter Mary was sent to The Hague as maid of honour to Mary, Princess Royal, at the age of 17, and in 1648 married Frederick of Nassau-Zuytlestein (1624-72), illegitimate son of Frederick-Henry, Prince of Orange.

Among the branches of the family that Huygens remained in contact with the most notable was that of Dr Henry Killigrew (1616-1700), later master of the Savoy, and his wife Judith. Henry and Judith produced four children, among them the poetess Anne Killigrew. There are letters from Huygens to Henry Killigrew (mentioned as chaplain to the King), and more particularly four letters that are either to, or which mention, Judith Killigrew in 1672. With one of these he mentions sending music – 'a Gigg to follow two sarabands already sent'. He also mentions some 'new concerts for your theorbo'.⁴⁰ In a letter to Madame Lenclos of 1671, Sir Constantijn cannot recommend too highly the talents of Judith, who could play pieces of great difficulty on the lute, guitar and theorbo. He mentions

³⁸ Huygens, *Mijn leven*, i, pp.126-8, lines 199-205.

³⁹ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, ii, p.944, letter 4950A: 'Madame Staford m'en a parle sans rien conclure, estant malaise'.

⁴⁰ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, ii, p.1114, letter 6862.

the '*belles pieces des Gautiers, des Du Fauts et autres*', and that she played any form of tablature without any difficulty.⁴¹ As late as 1680 Constantijn writes to Monsieur Ruysch for news of Judith saying that she has two of the best hands on the lute and the guitar regardless of gender.⁴²

Gaultier is mentioned in the context of the Killigrew family in the murky events of 1626/7 when, notoriously, he had been put in the Tower on suspicion of court intrigues and insulting the royal family. Soon after the arrival of Henrietta Maria in 1625 Gaultier was admitted as one of her extraordinarily well-paid musicians at £120 per annum and was also teaching her the lute.⁴³ It may be that simply having the name Gaultier linked Jacques with Ennemond Gaultier, the long-serving lutenist to Marie de Medici, the new English Queen's mother, and that furnishing the uncertain and disorientated young Henrietta Maria with her own Gaultier was a gesture of goodwill. There are accounts of this affair in the Venetian State papers that were reported on by Ian Spink.⁴⁴ Gaultier was among a group of four French servants of the Queen who were arrested and imprisoned by Buckingham and Charles. This was during the unhappy period after their marriage when Charles and Henrietta Maria were estranged and Buckingham sought to displace the French servants around the queen, and gain influence over her by having his own relatives and friends put into positions close to her. Gaultier's arrest may also have to do with the suggestion that he had made improper advances to the Earl of Carlisle's daughter, another of his pupils at this time.⁴⁵ There may be more to be discovered about the strange affair of Gaultier's imprisonment, but what we do know is that despite a period of non-payment Gaultier (though later reimbursed) remained in royal service and with his reputation intact.

In a set of letters between Sir Martin Stuteville and the Reverend Joseph Mead, Mead says of the affair:

That Gottier the Lutinist had no pistols, hath not been racked, nor examined by any but the duke; and that some talk strangely of it. Another account is that he was apprehended on Wednesday sennight, at the solemnization of a marriage at Sir Robert Killigrew's, between Mr Kirk

⁴¹ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, ii, p.1110, letter 6796. Laurencie, 'Le luthiste', p.35.

⁴² Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, ii, p.1241, letter 7143.

⁴³ *The Manuscripts of Henry Duncan Skrine, Esq., Salvetti Correspondence* Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, 11th Report, app. I, (London, 1887), pp.103-4, letter dated 15 January 1627.

⁴⁴ I. Spink, 'Another Gaultier affair', *Music and Letters* xlv (1964), pp.345-7.

⁴⁵ A. Plowden, *Henrietta Maria* (Stroud, 2001), p.62.

and Mrs Killegrew, Sir Robert's sister, the king there present; and that the king or duke [Buckingham] made the match.⁴⁶

This was the marriage between George Kirke and Anne (1607-41), eldest daughter (not sister) of Sir Robert Killigrew that took place at Sir Robert's home. Anne became a 'dresser' to Henrietta-Maria and a leading performer in the queen's pastorals that also involved Gaultier (Fig. 5). Anne was unfortunately drowned in the Thames on 6 July 1641, when the royal barge capsized near London Bridge. Much was made of the disaster and she was buried in Westminster Abbey. A number of elegies were written for her, including one by Huygens, titled 'To the death of the lovely matron, Anne Killigrew, submersed under a bridge in London, 16 July 1641'.⁴⁷



Fig. 5. Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of Anne Killigrew, Mrs Kirke*. San Marino CA, Huntingdon Library.

⁴⁶ T. Birch, *The Court and Times of Charles the First*, 2 vols. (London, 1848), i, p.183.

⁴⁷ Constantijn Huygens, *Gedichten*, iii: 1636-1644, ed. J.A. Worp (Groningen, 1893), p.165.

Visits to Spain and Holland

Gaultier first crops up in royal accounts after the third visit by Constantijn to London: 'Monnseir Goutie, A French Musicon, £40 towards the defreyeng of his journey into Spayne, by Commissioners warrants dated 2 July 1623'.⁴⁸ Although Charles and Buckingham had supposedly travelled to Spain secretly and incognito, in fact their journey to woo the Infanta was well known. At their departure 'The Prince left a list of persons including Lords Andover, Carey, Compton and Vane who were to follow him, and the King has added others.'⁴⁹ The State Papers for 11 March carry a note: 'Mr Killigrew to go before, to provide for their passage from the seaside'.⁵⁰ This is a reference to Peter Killigrew, another member of the extended Cornish family, who oversaw the arrangements for the trip to Spain; his return is noted on 17 June. By 23 April some 800 passengers were to embark with about 200 servants and Gaultier may have been among this group (Fig. 6). On 17 June the Spanish complained that 'fresh English cavaliers keep arriving at Madrid and the expenses occasioned thereby to the royal palace amounts to a very considerable sum, and the Spanish are most anxious to terminate the affair'.⁵¹

The trip to Spain in the train of Prince Charles and Buckingham must have been the time that Gaultier famously played the lute for the Spanish grandees in the cabinet of the King of Spain, and wanted to break his lute over their ears at their lack of regard for the instrument. This anecdote is told by Huygens in his correspondence with La Chièze in a letter of 2 May 1673.

Gautier had told me that after having played for two hours on his excellent lute in the Cabinet of the King in Madrid, the Spanish grandes (grand assess) said 'It is a pity that he does not play the guitar', which almost made him hit them with his lute. And this makes me believe that there must be some connoisseur who knows how to make this instrument produce something good'.⁵²

⁴⁸ Ashbee, *Records*, iv, p.227.

⁴⁹ *Calender of State Papers Domestic Series, James I 1619-23*, ed. M.A. Everett Green (London, 1858), p.503, on February 27.

⁵⁰ *Calender of State Papers Domestic*, p.521, on March 11.

⁵¹ *Calender of State Papers Domestic*, pp.567, 612, on April 23, June 17.

⁵² Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, ii, p.1132, letter 6895.



Fig. 6. Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of a musician (Jacques Gaultier?)*. Madrid, Prado Museum. [or: Jan Lievens; *Portrait of Jacques Gaultier*. Engraving.]

Thereafter Gaultier appears in English royal accounts, the first in 1624 as 'James Gaultier, another of his Highness' musicians, his allowance at £50 a year, and pension at £100 per year'.⁵³ This salary continued after Charles's accession; as mentioned above he was also appointed as a musician of the Queen's household.⁵⁴ Between 1626-9 he was not paid, and between Michaelmas 1628 and Midsummer 1630 Rince des Gowges (the only female musician employed by the English Court between 1540 and 1715) was given Gaultier's place as the queen's private lutenist at £40.

⁵³ Ashby, *Records*, iv, p.228.

⁵⁴ Ashbee, Lasoscki, Holman, Kisby, *Biographical Dictionary*, i p.468.

After the shady affairs of 1626/7 and Gaultier's imprisonment in the Tower, it may be that Gaultier was deemed unfit to teach the Queen. Rince is mentioned as 'the French woman that doth teach her Majestie to play on the lute.'⁵⁵ However, Gaultier was then paid arrears for the full period in October 1629, '£375 due to him upon his pension of £100 a year from Christmas 1625 to Michaelmas 1629'.⁵⁶

It is believed that Gaultier visited Holland around 1630, though it is difficult to see when he could have been absent from court. There is no mention of his being granted leave of absence, and he signs for his wages and is regularly paid from 1629 onwards – though he often assigns his wages over to others, for instance in 1628/9 when he assigned £100 'over to Mr Beard at Ludgate'. This was the first of 12 assignments of Gaultier's wages to other people.⁵⁷ One of the later entries suggests Gaultier owed money to his wife's uncle, as on 7 February he assigns £50 to John West who had witnessed his marriage in 1633.

In August 1630 an unnamed lutenist was provided with a letter of recommendation from the poet and diplomat, Jacob van der Burgh, by way of introduction to Huygens:

Dear Sir, this is then the honourable man, of whom I have told you so many times that, as well as having reached the level of perfection in the playing of his lute, he also has acquired other qualities which make his stand out far above his lute playing brothers. In Friesland he lets me 'taste' the atmosphere of The Hague and ensures that I don't feel unhappy in the middle of the marshes. He passionately wishes to be introduced to you and although neither your courtesy nor his skills will prevent to provide him with the introduction, he still has asked me, because I have the honour to be in favour with you, to write you this short letter. Therefore I humbly ask you to permit him to greet you and to remember me to you.⁵⁸

La Laurencie and Rasch connect this letter with Jacques Gaultier because Van der Burgh mentions in a later letter of October 1630 'Je ne croy pas que Gaultier son passé par la Haye sans vous avoir laissé de ses merveillés'. ('I do not think that Gaultier will have passed by The Hague without having left you some of his marvels').⁵⁹ If this letter of introduction was intended for Jacques Gaultier it seems odd that Van der Burgh does not appear to be aware that Gaultier and Huygens were

⁵⁵ Ashbee, Lasoscki, Holman, Kisby, *Biographical Dictionary*, i, p.502.

⁵⁶ Ashbee, *Records*, iii, pp.46, 182.

⁵⁷ Ashbee, Lasoscki, Holman, Kisby, *Biographical Dictionary*, i, p.460.

⁵⁸ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, ii, p.265, letter 523.

⁵⁹ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, ii, p.265, letter 551 La Laurencie, p.35

acquainted. Possibly Van der Burgh did not know that Huygens had met Gaultier on his visits to London in the 1620s, or perhaps despite hearing Gaultier at the Killigrew family in 1622-3 the two had not yet been formally introduced, so Jacques Gaultier still needed a letter of introduction.

An alternative explanation is that this letter of introduction was for Ennemond Gaultier who, according to the writer of the Burwell lute tutor, visited England around this time. The Burwell tutor relates that Ennemond was sent to represent Marie de Medici at the birth of her grandson Charles II on 28 May 1630.⁶⁰ From the August and October letters it is clear that a lutenist named Gaultier had been in Friesland – and there are pieces by [Ennemond] Gaultier in de Moy's *Le Petit Bouquet*, which was produced for the marriage of Count Ulrich of East Friesland and Princess Juliana of Hesse in 1631, not long after the time of this correspondence. Could it be that Ennemond had travelled on to The Hague after being in London, had visited Friesland, and was then in need of a letter of introduction to Huygens? And could the reference to 'lute playing brothers' allude to other lutenists with the name Gaultier, rather than simply other professional players?

The Gaultier/Huygens Correspondence 1645-9

Of the six letters that have survived (out of a probable exchange of 13 letters starting in April 1645) between Jacques Gaultier and Sir Constantijn, most touch on the subject of the acquisition of a lute of Bologna with nine ribs, which Constantijn had commanded Gaultier to find for him. Huygens's letters do not survive and it is only those of Gaultier and Frederic Rivet (acting for Huygens in London) that do. Clearly Gaultier had been specifically asked to find a nine-ribbed Bologna lute of a large size. Gaultier says all the lutes of Bologna are by Laux Maler (who has been dead for 120 years), and there are only 50 in the world and six in England. They are of average size and not right for songs. This first letter from Gaultier also discusses the merits of lutes by Sigismundo Maler and Hans Frei with 11 ribs, which are said to be larger.⁶¹ He also touches on the large lutes of Nicolas Sconvelt, which Gaultier says are good both for pieces and for singing.

In the next letter of 30 April 1645 Gaultier has found a gentleman with a lute of nine ribs by Maler, the most beautiful and best lute from Bologna

⁶⁰ *Burwell Tutor*, f. 5v.

⁶¹ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, ii, p.717, letter 3928.

to be found in England with a new neck and barring by ‘Master Nicoles’, which he says is suitable for use with the voice and for solo pieces.⁶² The gentleman and Gaultier commit themselves in writing to Mr Rivet (the intermediary) that if it is not liked it can be sent back and they will return with the 30 pounds sterling asked for the lute. Rivet writes on 26 May 1645 on the subject of a large lute that had been sent but had not found approval with Constantijn as the price had been too high – though as is pointed out it is not high in comparison with the little lute of Bologna in the hands of Gaultier which cost £100.⁶³ The lute had been highly recommended by Gaultier though the neck had not been altered to suit him. One senses in the following letter from Gaultier that Sir Constantijn was somewhat offended and that Gaultier regrets sending the lute and says he will look for another.⁶⁴ Gaultier does not take responsibility for setting the price, though he felt he had to send a lute in order not to displease Constantijn.

There is then a break in the correspondence until September 1647 when Gaultier sends Sir Constantijn some pieces and airs to sing.⁶⁵ This is perhaps an attempt to gain favour after sending the overpriced and unwanted lute. The letters recommence in 1649 with a letter from Gaultier following the visit by Constantijn Huygens junior as part of the United Provinces delegation sent to try to prevent the execution of Charles I.⁶⁶ On that occasion Constantijn junior had also listened to Gaultier’s playing, and the subject of a lute for Constantijn had again been raised. We learn that Lady Stafford (Mary Killigrew) had talked about the matter with Gaultier without making a decision – as she was ill. In the September 1647 letter Gaultier discusses a ‘Lauz Maller’ lute that had belonged to Jehan (John) Ballard, a lutenist in the service of Charles I when he was Prince of Wales from 1617 until 1625. This had been first bought for 60 pistoles – just the body and top. It had been fitted (with a neck) and taken to England. After Ballard died in 1626 the lute stayed in possession of a few poor relatives; eventually they were given £100 for it and the King presented it to Gaultier. Gaultier suggests sending it to Constantijn so that he can play it and compare it.

In his last rather desperate letter Gaultier suggests selling his own lute to which, as mentioned above, he says his wife has a claim.⁶⁷ In this last

⁶² Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, ii, p.719, letter 3940A.

⁶³ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, ii, p.724, letter 3958.

⁶⁴ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, ii, p.727, letter 3958A.

⁶⁵ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, ii, p.836, letter 4680A.r

⁶⁶ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, ii, p.944, letter 4950A.

⁶⁷ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, ii, p.943, letter 4950A.

letter Gaultier says he has delivered his lute to Mr Secretary (Maarten Mazuere) and hopes for the same price as he paid for it (£100?). He says the best way to compare it is to play it very often: 'then you will notice that with respect to melody, harmony, loudness and softness you will find no other lute that will compare'. The table is made of the firmest wood and the coarsest grain (*du plus gros grain*). He sends it in an unfavourable state since only the bass strings are fitted. He asks Constantijn to take into consideration his situation – 30 years in royal service of the King and Queen, and a wife who can claim a legitimate part of whatever he owns. According to Lisa Jardine the lute was sent, as Huygens had also located another nine-ribbed Maler lute but this time from Paris, and he wished to compare the tone of two.⁶⁸ Jardine suggests that Gaultier's lute was rejected and returned as Lady Stafford's approval had not been obtained. More particularly it had been given gratis to Gaultier as a means of settling outstanding debts and salaries. As Jardine says 'How could Huygens ever have performed in front of the Princess Royal, Mary Stuart (Charles I's daughter) or Elizabeth of Bohemia (Charles I's sister) on an instrument acquired under such circumstances?'⁶⁹ Meanwhile Constantijn had also been sent a large old Bolognese lute by an unnamed Englishman that he was very pleased with.⁷⁰

There is a second correspondence in 1679 between Sir Constantijn and Sébastien Chièze (envoy on behalf of the Prince of Orange in Madrid), on the matter of getting a Luca (Laux) Maler lute, this time directly from friends of Chièze in Italy.⁷¹ Two Italian brothers (identified by Rudolf Rasch in his paper on the subject as Giulio and Guido Bovio) had found two lutes: one with eleven ribs by Laux Maler, the other by Laux or 'the other Maler' referred to as 'Christoforo' (Rasch thinks this is a mistake for Sigismundo whom he identifies as the son of Laux, though we know now that there were both a son and a brother of Laux called Sigismundo).⁷² The Italian friends say that Maler's lutes are now less cherished than those by Hans Frei and another maker (not named). They mention that both the

⁶⁸ L. Jardine, 'The Reputation of Sir Constantijn Huygens: Networker or Virtuoso' (Wassenaar, 2008; KB lecture 5), pp.3-28, at p.24.

⁶⁹ Jardine, 'The Reputation', p.24. This point is also touched upon in the chapter by Anthony Bailes in this book.

⁷⁰ Burgers, *The Lute in Dutch Golden Age*, p.147.

⁷¹ R. Rasch, 'Music in Spain in the 1670s through the eyes of Sébastien Chièze, and Constantijn Huygens', *Anuario Musical* lxii (2007), pp.97-124, at pp.119-21.

⁷² B. Blackburn, 'Il Magnifico Sigismondo Maler Thedescho and his family: The Venetian Connection', *The Lute* 1 (2010), pp.60-86.

lutes they had found had necks *à la Française* so that they could be played as soon as they were provided with strings.⁷³

What is interesting is that in Huygens's correspondence with both Gaultier and Chièze the references are all to lutes 'of Bologna', and there is no mention of Venice lutes. Recent research by Bonnie Blackburn into newly discovered wills in the State Archives of Venice show how the families of Laux Maler, his brother Sigismundo Maler, Johannes Fraunhoffer and Nicolas Sconvelt were all closely interrelated. Though Laux may have been based in Bologna, most of the family members gravitated more to Venice; however, Sigismundo and Marx Unverdorben were sometimes in Bologna.⁷⁴

Jacques Gaultier's claim that he was given a Laux Maler lute worth £100 by Charles I is corroborated by Thomas Mace, who in *Musick's Monument* (1676) says 'that Mr Gootiere, the Famous Lutenist in His Time, shew'd me One of Them, which the King paid £100 for. And Mr. Edw. Jones (one of Mr Gootiere's Scholars) had the other, which He so valued'.⁷⁵ I wonder if the fashion for lutes of Bologna and particularly those of Laux Maler was created or at least encouraged by Gaultier and transmitted to Constantijn when he met and heard Gaultier, and furthermore that Constantijn was smitten by Gaultier's playing on just such a lute (perhaps even Ballard's very instrument) when he heard him play in England on his early visits. From then on he wanted one himself, though in all cases it is doubtful if Huygens ever actually got a Laux Maler lute with nine ribs. However, Lodewijck's *English Journal* shows that Gaultier was preparing lutes for Constantijn, and there is some evidence that Gaultier was a lute maker or at least a converter of lutes. Gaultier is described as 'maker of lutes for masques' in the 'programme' for *Britannia Triumphans* (1637/8), and was indeed paid £10 for a 'treble lute for him to be used in Masques'.⁷⁶

Conclusion

Why did Gaultier not leave London after 1642 as so many other court musicians did? The killing of a Frenchman back in 1617 may have made a return to France impossible, but Huygens's known interest in lutes and

⁷³ Rasch, 'Music in Spain', p.121.

⁷⁴ Blackburn, 'Il Magnifico Sigismondo Maler', pp.60-86.

⁷⁵ Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676; repr. CNRS, 1977), p.48.

⁷⁶ PRO LC 5/134, p.223, dated 31 December 1637. M. Lefkowitz, 'The Longleat Papers of Bulstrode Whitlock', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* xviii/1 (1965), pp.42-60, at p.46.

lutenists would make the United Provinces seem like an obvious sanctuary. Perhaps he simply did not have the money to travel and could not leave his dependent wife. We now know that Gaultier remained in London where he died in 1656 in difficult circumstances. Thus when, in 1663, Constantijn returned to London with his famous son Christian after a period of nearly 40 years he was unable to collect the lutes described as ‘Papas lutes’ that Gaultier had shown Lodewijck back in 1652. However Constantijn was still in contact with the Killigrew family (though Mary had died in 1656) and its cultural circle, and was able to renew acquaintances made before 1625. Clearly, hearing Gaultier play on his third visit to England (1621-3) had helped to shape Constantijn’s interest in lute music. It could well have started his life-long obsession with acquiring old lutes of Bologna. Jacques Gaultier’s music may have made little impact in the United Provinces, but if Dutch genre pictures are anything to go by his twelve-course lute certainly did.

UN BON NOMBRE D'ILLUSTRES
CONSTANTIJN HUYGENS AND THE WORLD
OF THE FRENCH LUTE¹

FRED JACOBS

Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687) was undoubtedly the most important virtuoso of European stature in the 17th-century Netherlands. A sophisticated courtier and diplomat, he knew Latin, Greek, French, Dutch, English, Italian, Spanish and German. He was secretary to two Princes of Orange and a skilled decipherer of the Spanish enemy's secret codes. He wrote prose and poetry, and his reputation equals that of the Dutch literary giants Hooft and Vondel. An art expert and adviser, he 'discovered' the young Rembrandt and Lievens² and played an important part in planning the decoration of the famous 'Hall of Orange', which he named the *Oranjezaal*, in *Huis ten Bosch* Palace.³ He promoted classicism, *l'architecture Ancienne*,⁴ in The Netherlands, planning his own house in The Hague, and his country estate Hofwijck near Voorburg, on the principles of Vitruvius and Scamozzi. Although he was self-taught in music theory, he composed more than 800 works of all kinds.⁵ He was

¹ The English translation by Dr. Julia Muller, is based on the lectures I gave in Dutch at the Festival Oude Muziek (Utrecht, August 2013) and the Huygensmuseum Hofwijck (Voorburg, September 2013). Thanks are due to Dr. Julia Muller, Michael Lowe, Dr. Ad Leerintveld, William Carter and Jan Spee for their assistance and support. Given the many languages used by Huygens in his communications, this chapter shows all literal quotations in italics and all translated quotations in quotation marks.

² Constantijn Huygens, *Mijn jeugd*, transl. from Latin and ed. C.L. Heesakkers (Amsterdam, 1987), pp.84-90, at p.84.

³ Margriet van Eikema Hommes and Elmer Kolfin, *De Oranjezaal in Huis ten Bosch* (Zwolle, 2013), pp.56-58, at p.58.

⁴ J.A. Worp, *De briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens* ('s-Gravenhage, 1911-1917), ii, p.132. Letter to P.P. Rubens, 13 November 1635.

⁵ R. Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven over muziek van, aan en rond Constantijn Huygens* (Hilversum, 2007), p.1267.

also an enthusiastic amateur musician, playing the viol, theorbo, guitar, harpsichord and, his favourite instrument, the lute.

In order to mould him into the perfect courtier, Huygens's education was designed to produce an *honnête homme*: a man who could converse with *sprezzatura*, i.e. a certain nonchalance, in many languages, excel as a musician and dancing partner, having beautiful posture: moving gracefully and easily both on foot and astride a horse. In 1604 Huygens was given his first lessons on the lute, that 'most difficult of all instruments'⁶, on which he is said to have become able to improvise effortlessly within two years. His father wrote: 'He excelled amazingly on the lute by the time he was nine years old.'⁷

On the one hand, his lute playing served as part of his aura as an *honnête homme*; it showed his *bon goût*; an 'amateur', exhibiting the subtleties of his instrument with ease and thereby opening doors which would otherwise have remained closed to him. For example, in 1618, during a diplomatic mission to England, this skill brought him into contact with King James I, whose 'learned ears' had listened to his playing 'with benevolence'.⁸ Huygens took pride in his awareness that he owed this meeting to his instrument. In 1619 he wrote:

'Lute, my key to Chambers
Seldom reached without golden Hammers.'⁹

On the other hand, playing the lute afforded him recreation and the means to banish 'melancholy' during his incessant work in the service of the House of Orange. He expressed this clearly in a letter, dated 10 March 1673, to Utricia Ogle, Lady Swann, his old friend whose singing he had often accompanied on the theorbo: *In a word, after, and many times between business belonging to my employment, I use, as I did, to fiddle myself out of a bad humour, either upon a viol, or a lute, or a theorba or a paire of virginals, which in my cabinet I doe find still ready about me.*¹⁰

⁶ Huygens, *Mijn jeugd*, p.29.

⁷ E. de Heer and A. Eyffinger, 'De jongelingsjaren van Christiaan en Constantijn Huygens', in *Huygens herdacht* ('s-Gravenhage, 1987), pp.75-165, at p.84. Transl. by J. Muller.

⁸ J.A. Worp, *De gedichten van Constantijn Huygens naar zijn handschrift uitgegeven* (Groningen, 1892-1899), i, p.163. Transl. JM.

⁹ Worp, *De gedichten*, i, p.162, Transl. JM.

¹⁰ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.1125.

With regard to his taste in lute music, Huygens particularly favoured the French lutenists. This is not surprising as Paris was regarded as the most important centre of lute music during the 17th century and attracted numerous foreign devotees wanting to study with the famous *Maîtres de Luth*. There was a large supply of instruments, and it was in Paris from the beginning of the 17th century onwards that the latest developments in the area of lute tunings and right-hand technique were evolving.

During his third trip to England in 1622 Huygens had heard the French lutenist Jacques Gaultier, who had been in England since 1617, play at the house of the art-loving Killigrew family in London. This seems to have made an immense impression on him. As late as 1678 Huygens, now over eighty, remembered as if it were yesterday: 'Great Heavens! with what passionate hands, right and left, did he repeatedly intoxicate my senses. Was that a lute inspired by God or indeed the work and enthusiasm of a man?'¹¹ Precisely the same impression is described in the Burwell Lute Tutor: *Gaultier of England [is] [...] excellent [...] for the goodness of his hands the most swift the neatest and most even that ever were.*¹²

In August 1630 Huygens's friend Jacob van der Burgh wrote him a letter from Utrecht introducing an *honneste homme* who, 'aside from the perfection he has achieved in lute playing, also possesses qualities which place him far above his colleagues.'¹³ He wrote to Huygens again in October, making clear that he was referring to one *Gaultier* and asking if he had shared his *merveilles* with Huygens in The Hague.¹⁴ This is clearly not about Jacques Gaultier, as it is a letter of introduction given to *Gaultier*. Huygens had met Jacques Gaultier eight years earlier, so an introduction would be unnecessary. The man in question was probably the famous French lutenist Ennemond Gaultier. According to the Burwell Lute Tutor this *Sunne among the Starres* of lute playing had been sent to London from France by his employer Maria de Medici after the birth of her grandson, the future king Charles II, on 29 May 1630, to play for the English court.¹⁵ Why he then visited the Netherlands is unknown. Perhaps

¹¹ Constantijn Huygens, *Mijn leven vertelt aan mijn kinderen in twee boeken*, transl. from Latin and ed. F. Blom (Amsterdam, 2003), i, p.129. Transl. JM.

¹² *The Burwell Lute Tutor*, ed. R. Spencer and L. Hewitt (Leeds, 1975), f.5v. Facsimile of a MS of c.1660-72, probably copied by Mary or Elizabeth Burwell. This is a pupil's copy of a method most likely written by the English lutenist John Rogers, who probably studied with Ennemond Gaultier.

¹³ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.265. Transl. JM.

¹⁴ Worp, *De briefwisseling*, i, p.301.

¹⁵ *The Burwell Lute Tutor*, f.5v.

Jacob van der Burgh met Ennemond Gaultier during his Grand Tour (1621-1624).¹⁶

A letter which a certain Monsieur Vincent wrote to Huygens early in July 1636 establishes that Huygens and this French lutenist were already acquainted.¹⁷ Again we do not know why Vincent went to The Netherlands but a number of sources show that he spent several years embroiled in political intrigue and espionage. His encounters with Huygens seem to have been innocent.¹⁸ Vincent enclosed lute strings from Rome with his letter to Huygens. These were particularly sought after in Europe for their purity or, as the Burwell Lute Tutor has it: *they [lute strings] become false severall wayes [...] and in one word if they doe not come from Rome.*¹⁹ Huygens wrote back, thanking him enthusiastically for the ‘Roman gift’: ‘The only thing lacking is your hands to animate the strings, but as we wish for this pleasure in vain, we will make them speak ourselves as well as we can and at every touch singing your praises will play its part in our *divertissements*.’²⁰ In the meantime, he will have been waiting impatiently for Vincent’s promised *nouveautez de France*, which may either have referred to matters concerning the lute or to more general news.²¹

The correspondence between Huygens and the famous French scholar Marin Mersenne is of great importance when considering Huygens’s relationship to French music in general. The two men were introduced by René Descartes and corresponded extensively from 1637 on, which made it possible for Huygens to stay abreast of the latest developments in the fields of music and lute playing in Paris. In his voluminous book on every facet of music *Harmonie Universelle*, Mersenne pays particular attention to the lute in all its aspects: ‘In France it is considered to be the most noble

¹⁶ P. van de Sluijs, ‘Constantijn Huygens en de Muiderkring’, in *Constantijn Huygens-zijn plaats in geleerd Europa*, ed. H. Bots (Amsterdam, 1973), pp.188-303, at p.224; A. Leerintveld, ‘Een heiligdom voor de vaderlandse muze. Het album amicorum van Johan van Heemskerck en de Nederlandse letteren in 1621-1622’, in *Schrift en signatuur*, ed. P. van Capelleveen, K. van der Hoek, A. Leerintveld and E. van der Vlist (Den Haag/Amsterdam, 2012), pp.25-53, at pp.25, 28-31.

¹⁷ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.271.

¹⁸ D. Ledbetter, ‘Vincent’, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (second edition, London, 2001), xxvi, p.649.

¹⁹ *The Burwell Lute Tutor*, f.7v.

²⁰ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.288.

²¹ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.271.

instrument of all, by reason of the sweetness of its melody, the number and harmony of its strings, its range, its tuning and the difficulty of playing it as perfectly as *les sieurs* l'Enclos, Gaultier, Blanrocher, Merville, le Vignon and a few others now living.²² For those who want more lute music than the printed examples in his book, Mersenne refers the reader to the tablature editions published annually by the well-known Paris music printing house of Ballard. In Huygens's library there were two collections of *Tablature de Luth de Differens Auteurs*, this title corresponding to surviving Ballard editions of 1623, 1631 and 1638, and of course a copy of Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle*.²³

Huygens must have been thinking of various *Maîtres de Luth* when chronicling the musical education of his sons Constantijn Jr. and Christiaan, which was planned in the same way his own had been. They were taught the lute from 1640 on, by his own former teacher Jeronimus van Someren in The Hague. Huygens envisioned the possibility that 'if one of them should (perhaps) desire more serious study of that difficult instrument, I would have him taught further here or in France.' That didn't happen, but he was particularly pleased with Christiaan 'in everything related to music.'²⁴

In 1647 Huygens's *Pathodia Sacra et Profana*, his only music ever printed, was published by Ballard²⁵: a collection of French Airs, originally composed for voice and lute; Italian Arias, for voice and basso continuo and Latin Psalms, some presumably composed with a lute accompaniment, some with continuo and some with both. He dedicated the *Pathodia* to his friend Utricia Ogle, who he described to Mersenne as 'the most accomplished singer you can imagine, in every style and language.'²⁶ Huygens would have preferred to have had his work published with a printed accompaniment in lute tablature as the XVIIth collection in the series of *Airs de Cour* that Ballard had been publishing since 1609.²⁷

²² Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle* (Paris, 1636; facs. ed. C.N.R.S., Paris, 1975), livre second des instruments a cordes, p.92. Transl. J. Muller and F. Jacobs.

²³ R. Rasch, 'De muziekbibliotheek van Constantijn Huygens', in *Veelzijdigheid als levensvorm*, ed. A. van Deursen, E. Grootes and P. Kuyl (Deventer, 1987), pp.141-162, at pp.150, 156. Only the title-page of the 1623 edition has survived.

²⁴ De Heer and Eyffinger, *Huygens herdacht*, p.132.

²⁵ Modern edition: Constantijn Huygens, *Pathodia Sacra et Profana*, ed. F. Noske (Amsterdam, 1976).

²⁶ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.764. Transl. JM.

²⁷ R. Rasch, 'Waarom schreef Constantijn Huygens zijn Pathodia sacra et profana?' in *Constantijn Huygens*, ed. N. Streekstra (Groningen, 1997), pp.95-124, at p.104.

Huygens knew that repertoire well and had studied it seriously. In the end, the format and title page of the *Pathodia* matched those of the series, but the printed tabulature accompaniment was omitted for commercial reasons. The published version has a sparsely figured bass line, the basis of a lute or theorbo accompaniment.

Huygens was travelling constantly in the 1640s as a result of Stadholder Frederik Hendrik's military campaigns. He composed most of his *Pathodia* in various army camps, leaving the preparations for publication to his editor Thomas Gobert, the *sous-maître* of the Chapelle Royale. Until 1661, when Huygens first travelled to France, he communicated with French musicians, his publisher and his friends in writing.

In spite of his busy life during this period, Huygens was always on the lookout for good instruments. Following the French fashion, he preferred Italian lutes of over a hundred years old; instruments which could be updated and renecked, if desired, to meet specific needs such as playing solo or accompanying. The old bodies of these instruments were considered the most important factor for sound quality. He made good use of his French connections in finding them. Old Italian lutes were already in particular favour in France before 1623, as witness the well-known Italian lute and theorbo player Alessandro Piccinini in the introduction to his *Intavolatura di Liuto e di Chitarrone, Libro Primo*:

'Already many years ago in Bologna there were made lutes of very excellent quality, either because they were made in a long shape, similar to a pear, or because they were made with wide ribs – the one makes them sweet; the other harmonious. It is enough that they were highly esteemed for their quality, and in particular by the French, who came especially to Bologna to take them back into France, and the French paid whatever was asked, so that very few are to be found today.'²⁸

The Burwell Lute Tutor sums it up:

Besides, all Bolonia Lutes are in the shape of a pare [=pear], and those are the best Lutes but there [sic] goodnes is not attributed to there figure but to there antiquity, to the skill of those Lutemakers, to the quality of the wood and seasoning of it, and to the varnishing of it. The Bolonia Lutes are knowne by there shape and varnish, which is darkish red. Laux Mauller

²⁸ Alessandro Piccinini, *Intervolatura di Liuto e di Chitarrone, libro primo* (Bologna, 1623 ; facs. ed. Florence, 1983), p.5 ('Dell' Origine del Chitaronne & della Pandora, Cap. xxviii). Transl. anon.

[Maler] and Hunts frith [Hans Frei] have beene the twoe chieftest Lutemakers that have lived at Bolonia, who have rendered there names immortall by the melodious sound of that famous Instrument and will still make them resound through all the earth as long as it will please God to mainetayne the harmony of the universe.²⁹

It is interesting to consider what was for sale in Paris in the 1630s and '40s. The inventory of the lute builder Fiacre Préponnier, taken after the death of his wife in 1638, contains 73 old lutes, of which 12 were bodies of *vieux lutz* with their soundboards and 12 were *vieux lutz de divers pays prest à monter*.³⁰ The inventory taken after the death in 1648 of the famous builder Jean Desmoulins, also known to Huygens, is even more interesting. His workshop contained 249 lutes, large and small, of which 140 were new ones, but also a large number originally from Padua, Venice, Florence and notably no less than eight from Bologna, probably from the 16th century, which were appraised at the highest price.³¹ All this leads to the conclusion that the Parisian builders were also dealers. Speculation was rife, as can be gleaned from Huygens's correspondence. For instance, Desmoulin's inventory mentions a large lute by the late 15th/early 16th-century maker Nicola Schonvelt, valued at no less than thirty *livres tournois*, a fortune at the time.

When in the spring of 1645, Huygens was looking for a Bologna lute with nine ribs, Jacques Gaultier sent him a letter mentioning such instruments by Laux Maler and lutes with eleven ribs by Sigismond Maler and Hans Frei. Additionally he suggested a large lute by Nicola Schonvelt, '[an instrument] suitable to sing to', which he might also be able to acquire, but no price was mentioned.³² A Laux Maler lute with nine ribs, sent to Huygens from London in May 1645 after a search by Jacques Gaultier, was rejected as too expensive.³³ In 1647 he was offered an old lute body from Denmark and another from Vienna 'where they are easy to find'.³⁴ Eventually, on 6 April 1648, Huygens was able to write to his friend Mersenne: 'An Englishman has acquired a beautiful old large

²⁹ *The Burwell Lute Tutor*, f.3r.

³⁰ Catherine Massip, 'Facteurs d'instruments et maîtres à danser parisiens au XVIIe siècle, *Instrumentistes et luthiers parisiens*, ed. F. Gétreau (Alençon, 1988), pp.17-34, at p.25.

³¹ J. Dugot, 'La facture des instruments à cordes au temps de Jacques Dumesnil et Jean Desmoulins', in *Instrumentistes et luthiers parisiens*, ed. F. Gétreau (Alençon, 1988), pp.35-49, at p.39; C. Massip, 'Facteurs d'instruments', pp.26, 28, 30.

³² Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, pp.717-718.

³³ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.719; p.724.

³⁴ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.825.

Bologna lute for me from France [...] the best I have ever played. You can imagine my delight at the gift. In its belly is housed the softest thunder one can hear. I cannot describe it better. You have still not been willing to tell me which shape in your opinion produces the best resonance in a lute and why. I know something of this from experience and it seldom misleads me. But my Archimedes [the nickname bestowed on Huygens's son Christiaan by Mersenne himself] will be given the task of formulating the theory.³⁵ In France too, efforts were made to describe the specific qualities of the lute sound. François de Grenaille, a man of letters, for instance, illustrated its spiritual properties in his *Les Plaisirs des Dames*: '[...] is it not amazing to see an eloquent piece of wood [...] a concavity which makes itself heard although it has no voice [...] the true God has bestowed its invention on us to allow us to enjoy on earth a foretaste of the Music of Heaven.'³⁶ Pierre Trichet's *Traité des Instruments* is a lot more down to earth. He says that old lutes are so greatly valued because the wood is so well seasoned: they are *extremement secs*. He is discussing the body of the lute mentioning maple in particular, as one of the best sorts of wood to be used.³⁷

In May 1648 Huygens came into contact with the harpsichordist Pierre de la Barre in Paris, and within a few months enlisted his help in his search for a Bologna lute, probably for solo music. De la Barre's letter to Huygens of 15 October 1648 is an excellent example of the way old lutes had become speculative investments in France at that time, and shows us what a splendid network Huygens commanded:

'Sir, I have received your letter [...], from which I understand that you are travelling, which I have also heard from Monsieur de Verpré, to whom I have written during your absence concerning some private matters, but I told him nothing of your search for an exceedingly good Bologna lute, partly because it seems to me that he sets a higher value on the new lutes

³⁵ *Un seigneur Anglois m'a fait venir de France un beau, viel, grand luth de Boloigne, le meilleur que je touchay jamais. Pensez si le présent me ravit. Il règne dans son creux le plus doux tonnerre qu'on puisse entendre. Je ne sçauroy vous le peindre mieux. Encor ne m'avez-vous jamais voulu dire, quel moule de luth vous estimez que doibve rendre la plus belle résonnance, et pourquoy. J'en sçay quelque chose par expérience, qui me trompe rarement. Mais mon Archimède aura charge d'en raisonner sur la théorie.* Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.886. Transl. JM and FJ.

³⁶ François de Grenaille, *Les plaisirs des dames* (Paris, 1641), p.286.

³⁷ Pierre Trichet, 'Traité des instruments', in *Méthodes et Traités 19*, Série I, 'Luth', ii, ed. J. Dugot (Courlay, 2004), pp.129-133, at p.130. Facs. of a MS. c.1640.

by Desmoulins. That is not the opinion of the Gaultiers [Ennemond and Denis] and other excellent lute players. Tastes differ.

However, concerning what you have asked me, I have instituted a search among all those having Bologna lutes for sale. I have found two of the size that you stipulated, of which one is by Laux Maler with nine ribs. It has an excellent sound but, as it is rather old, it is damaged and even has a few cracks. The price is 15 pistoles at most. The other lute is the same size, with nine ribs, by Hans Frei, the same price but much more beautiful and intact than the other one. I can tell you nothing about the quality, as it has no neck. It is being worked on. I can go and hear it in a week and will tell you what it sounds like [...] I would also like very much to look at a few others, belonging to an odd gentleman of quality named Monsieur de la Noue. When he has returned from the country I will learn how much he is asking for a lute he has, which they say is, as you wish, the best lute to be found in Paris with thirty or forty valuable others. He is a man who trades, buys and sells for his pleasure and earns nothing by this pastime [...] But for fear of making a mistake in this matter [...] I will ask Monsieur Gaultier and other excellent gentlemen for their opinion, for I have always been told that it is better to fail on the grounds of good advice than to do well alone.³⁸

It is clear from Huygens's correspondence that his search continued in the years to come.

Those were also the years in which Constantijn Huygens, now past fifty, switched from playing and composing for the lute in the old (Renaissance) tuning to one of the new French tunings, the (Baroque) tuning in D minor, or *l'accord moderne* as Huygens has it.³⁹ Of the new tunings for solo music used experimentally in France from the early 1620s, *les accords nouveaux* or *extraordinaires*, this D minor tuning eventually became the standard tuning in the 1640s and '50s, not only in France but throughout Europe with the exception of Italy.

On 1 December 1653 Huygens wrote to Pierre de la Barre in Paris that he had recently begun to 'explore' *les nouveaux tons*, the new keys made possible by *l'accord moderne*. He enclosed a few of his latest lute compositions in one of those keys.⁴⁰ When, years later, he made a collection of his pieces *sur l'accord moderne du Luth* he arranged them in order of the keys (*rangeë selon les Tons*) rather than by date of

³⁸ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.917.

³⁹ S. Post, 'Constantijn Huygens' Muscae', *De zeventiende eeuw* viii (1992), pp.275-283, at pp.276-277.

⁴⁰ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.973.

composition, as in his collection of pieces *sur le vieil accord du Luth*. The former way of classifying lute music became customary in most manuscripts and printed editions in the second half of the 17th century.

It seems that Huygens never seriously applied himself to the other *accords nouveaux*, although he probably owned two Ballard publications of lute music in those tunings and must have been familiar with them through Mersenne. In his old age, at over 83, he wrote to Michael Döring, a Hamburg physician, that he preferred to change keys by raising or lowering a bass string by a semi-tone, rather than by changing the entire tuning. He regarded the latter as more of a whim of the French, a *maladie novellière* which would not endure.⁴¹

After 1650, Constantijn Huygens had more time than ever before to devote to lute playing, composing and collecting music. When Willem II died in that year, the period without a Stadholder began and Huygens's secretarial work was terminated. He remained a member and later president of the *Domeinraad* (Council of the domains of the House of Orange), working to protect the interests of the House of Orange.

Huygens's now adult sons were able to further their father's musical interests by using his contacts on their foreign travels. In September 1655 Christiaan Huygens and his brother Lodewijk arrived in Paris from Angers. Christiaan was introduced to a *Monsieur Emon*, presumably the lutenist Claude Emond, who played him *fort jolies* pieces and whose performance he considered beautiful. He was assured that it was hardly inferior to Denis Gaultier's. His list of prominent musicians to visit, *un bon nombre d'illustres*, probably provided by his father, included the most famous lutenists of the day: François Dufaut, Denis Gaultier and Germain Pinel.⁴² We don't know if Christiaan met them, as he turned out not to have their addresses. The next time he visited Paris, from October 1660 to the middle of March 1661, he certainly met Denis Gaultier. He went to see him twice and wrote in his diary for 24 February 1661 that 'l'Abbé Sibour took me to the house of Gaultier, who performed admirable pieces for us. His second was single. [He] only played pieces in a la mi re.'⁴³ Christiaan, therefore, not only heard him play pieces in A minor but also observed that Gaultier was using an instrument with a single second string. That may not

⁴¹ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.1246.

⁴² Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.992.

⁴³ *L'abbé Sibour me mena chez Gautier qui nous fit entendre des choses admirables. Sa seconde estoit simple. Ne joua que des pieces en a la mi re.* Christiaan Huygens, *Œuvres complètes*, xxii (La Haye, 1950), p.557. Transl. JM and FJ. I am grateful to Tim Crawford for drawing my attention to the significance of this quotation.

have been usual at the time, but was extremely important to Gaultier's style of performance and his frequent use of the 'cadence' at the end of a musical phrase. The Burwell Lute Tutor states explicitly that *the Cadence that is made upon the Treble and the Second is not soe cleare if there be twoe Seconds*. And this is of great importance as, according to the same source, *if the Cadence be neate, nimble and even, tis one of the greatest graces of the Lute, and some say the perfection of it*.⁴⁴

Eventually, Constantijn Huygens managed to visit France himself. On 7 October 1661 he left for Paris to negotiate the return of the Principality of Orange, occupied by Louis XIV from 1660, to the House of Orange. The French king had been acting under false pretences, feigning guardianship of the ten-year-old Willem III. On 4 November Huygens was received in audience by the king. It was to take him more than three years of diplomacy to reach his goal. In the meantime, however, he had plenty of leisure for getting to meet musicians in the city with the most important lutenists of the period.

On 27 August 1662 Huygens wrote an enthusiastic letter to Utricia Ogle, Lady Swann, then living in London: *I was so overjoyed to see in a country I never saw before the rarest man I ever hope to see upon the lute, to be a friend to the rarest Lady I know [...] that I could not forebeare to intreate him to be the bearer of these lynes*. François Dufaut was about to leave for London, where he seems to have lived for the rest of his life. Huygens had played a few of his new compositions for Dufaut: *If he will make you a relation something like his discourses in presence, I will beginn to enter into a wonderfull presumption of myselfe. Surely he is the rarest compositor that I ever heard and the sweetest humor of a man*.⁴⁵ Dufaut probably communicated with Huygens several times and may even have visited him in his house on the Rue St. Honoré. Knowing Huygens, that would have been a lively meeting, as the diarist John Evelyn described him many years later as *a vigorous brisk-man*.⁴⁶

Christiaan Huygens, visiting London in 1663, was the first to mention Dufaut's doings there. He noted in his journal that he heard Joan Fanshawe, *Madame Warwick*, an acquaintance of the Huygens family, play the lute with Dufaut *excellent goet*.⁴⁷ It seems that his father communicated with Dufaut in the summer of 1664, when he made a short

⁴⁴ *The Burwell Lute Tutor*, f.8r; f.33r.

⁴⁵ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, pp.1040-1041.

⁴⁶ *The Diary of John Evelyn*, sel. and ed. G. de la Bédoyère (Woodbridge, 1999), p.184, 24 June 1671.

⁴⁷ Christiaan Huygens, *Œuvres complètes*, xxi, p.600.

trip to London from Paris to negotiate with Charles II over the Stuarts' outstanding debts to the Orange family. Huygens certainly met Joan Fanshawe during that visit. He wrote to her in September 1669, asking if *l'illustre Monsieur Du Faut* was still *en vie et rigueur* that is, alive and kicking.⁴⁸ Her answer has not been preserved, nor do we hear anything about Dufaut during Huygens's next mission to London from November 1670 to October 1671. There is a letter from London Huygens wrote on 14 May 1671 to the famous lute-playing courtesan Ninon de l'Enclos in Paris, in which he mentioned *les plus belles pièces des Gautiers, des Dufauts*. However, it contains no further information about the composers. In the same letter, Huygens also discussed the competence of the lutenist Claude Emond, about whom his son Christiaan had been so enthusiastic when in Paris in 1655.⁴⁹ When Constantijn Huygens sent a Gigue he had composed for the lute to Lady Killigrew in London in October 1672, he requested her to provide him with the last (meaning either final or latest) lute compositions of the *excellent Monsieur Aymant* [Emond], as Lady Killigrew had been in Paris the previous year.⁵⁰ The *Allemande, Tombeau de M^r Emond*⁵¹ composed in honour of his colleague leads to the conclusion that Dufaut survived Emond, but after that we lose track of them both.⁵² These snippets of information are all we have to go on; nevertheless, they give us an excellent idea of the lively international network the Huygens family had at their disposal and their efforts to remain up to date regarding lutes, lutenists and the latest music for the instrument.

Aside from the circle of acquaintances abroad among whom lute music was exchanged, Huygens's Dutch lute-playing friends also seem to have profited from his connections and Paris experiences. Johan van Reede (1593-1682) Lord of Renswoude, was a friend and contemporary of Huygens. He held various public offices in the Republic and was chairman of the States of Utrecht. Huygens tells us that Van Reede organised a *collège de musique* at his house, where songs and lute music were performed.⁵³ In the opinion of the musicologist and Huygens scholar

⁴⁸ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.1084. At this time Dufaut was probably around seventy years old.

⁴⁹ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.1110.

⁵⁰ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.1114.

⁵¹ Bruxelles II 276, ff.94v-95r. Modern ed.: CNRS Dufaut (Paris, 1988), pp.131-132.

⁵² A 'Tombeau de Dufaux' was composed by Du Pré d'Angleterre, a French lutenist already active in England in the 1670s.

⁵³ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.1211.

Rudolf Rasch, five manuscripts containing lute, theorbo and viol music discovered in the private library of Graf Goëss at Schloss Ebenthal in Austria in 1979 were commissioned by Van Reede. One viol manuscript (MS A) bears the inscription *A Utrecht le 19 decembre 1664* on the title page and another (MS B) mentions 1668 and the city of Utrecht.⁵⁴ MS A contains the only known instrumental composition by Constantijn Huygens extant: the *Allemande M^r Zuilekom* in viol tablature, the title recognised in the 1980s by the lutenist and musicologist Tim Crawford as containing Huygens's official title⁵⁵ and, according to Rudolf Rasch, notated by Johan van Reede himself.⁵⁶ The two volumes of lute music mainly contain works by French lutenists: Ennemond and Denis Gaultier, Claude Emond, Pierre Dubut, Jean Mercure, Jean Dufresneau and of course François Dufaut. One of them has no fewer than ten *Préludes* by Dufaut, of which nine are not found in any other source.⁵⁷ Huygens had a manuscript with pieces by Dufaut in his own library as well, a *Tablature du Luth, par du Faut*, which, sadly, has vanished without a trace.⁵⁸

There is another interesting lutenist connection in The Netherlands. From 23 August to 4 September 1669, the day he turned 73, Huygens took a holiday trip to Haarlem, Amsterdam, Naarden, Amersfoort, Utrecht and, via Hofwijck, back to The Hague. On 1 December, back at Hofwijck, he finished the poem about his travels, which begins as follows:

'Two Mares before my Coach, two Servants, Dog, a Lute;
This simple Retinue I took along my Route.
To view; and pleased to note as I went on my Way
just what had been achieved or even gone Astray
By Those who strewed their Money with a happy Air,
Who planted Trees or piléd Stone on Stone with Care...'

He described one of his first stops:

⁵⁴ D.A. Smith, 'The Ebenthal lute and viol tablatures', *Early Music* x (1982), pp.462-467, at p.463. These five manuscripts are now known as A-ET Goëss A (viol), B (viol), I (lute), II (lute and viol), Th (theorbo).

⁵⁵ T. Crawford, 'A composition for viola da gamba by Constantijn Huygens', *Veelzijdigheid als levensvorm*, ed. A. van Deursen, E. Grootes, and P. Kuyl (Deventer, 1987), pp.79-88, at p.81.

⁵⁶ I am grateful to Dr. Rudolf Rasch for privately communicating his views on the personal role of Van Reede in compiling these manuscripts. See the chapter by Rasch in this volume.

⁵⁷ A-ET Goëss I, ff.1v-14r; *The Goëss Lute Manuscripts I*, facsimile edn., ed. T. Crawford (München, 1988).

⁵⁸ Rasch, *Veelzijdigheid als levensvorm*, p.150.

‘At Lockhorst, beauteous Place, my welcome was in part;
 I Beverning missed, which was a lucky start.
 It had exhausted him to show his herbal fields,
 I lacking any knowledge to understand their yields.
 Now entertaining me fell to his wife so good,
 Who to endure my drawn out trampings stood and stood.’⁵⁹

Lockhorst or Oud-Teilingen was the country estate then recently acquired by Hieronymus van Beverningk, a diplomat and plenipotentiary for the States General during several peace negotiations, and his wife Joanna le Gillon, from a wealthy Amsterdam family.⁶⁰ When Huygens came to visit, Van Beverningk was absent and his wife, according to Huygens’s humorous verse, had to listen to Huygens play the lute. During this visit Huygens may have seen the portraits then recently painted of the couple for their new home by the society painter Jan de Baen of The Hague. They are portrayed in the fashionable mode of Anthonie van Dijck, the gilded frames intricately carved with their coats of arms and personal mottoes. Joanna le Gillon is standing in an Arcadian landscape with an idealization of the recently acquired manor in the background. Her motto, *Coeur content, grand talent* refers to the lute in her left hand (Fig. 1). It is an 11-course lute in the French style, apparently a rebuilt old instrument, of which the edge of the soundboard is protected by a band of silk or parchment. It is worth mentioning that the instrument has a double second course. It is within the bounds of possibility that Huygens, always interested in old instruments, played this lute while visiting Lockhorst. Referring to his visit, Huygens sent some of his own compositions for the lute to Joanna le Gillon on 30 April 1670. At that time, both were in The Hague. He wrote: ‘Some of these bagatelles were composed during the jaunt of which you witnessed the commencement at your estate and I am bound by my promise to share them with you.’ Van Beverningk had assured him that his wife continued to enjoy herself with the lute so Huygens presented her with these pieces as examples of his ‘wares, of which I have a great many in stock, sufficient to deny you any peace. If it should happen, Madam, that this style appeals to you, the performance will present few difficulties.’ His postscript is also of interest: ‘If it were possible without inopportuning you, I could easily call one evening after dinner to inform you as to the musical gesture and the modifications in

⁵⁹ Worp, *De gedichten*, vii, pp.289-290. Transl. JM.

⁶⁰ With special thanks to Cees van der Leer who kindly provided me with the information about their country estate.

tempo which these pieces require.’⁶¹ The last sentence of this letter, *quel est l'air et le mouvement que ses pièces requièrent*, proves once again how knowledgeable Huygens was and how closely his musical aesthetic adheres to the various sources informing us about French lute music in particular.



Fig. 1. Jan de Baen, *Joanna le Gillon*, c.1669. Oil on canvas, 156.5 x 121.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

According to Antoine Furetière (1619-1688) in his *Dictionnaire Universel*, published in The Hague in 1690, *air* signifies the manner in which the

⁶¹ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.1097. Transl. JM and FJ.

affect is expressed and the word *mouvement* includes *accelerando* and *ritardando*.⁶² These are aspects inexpressible in notation, as François Hédelin, Abbé d'Aubignac, had already put it concisely in his *La Pratique du Theatre* of 1657:

'If the art of lute playing were to be reduced to rules, it would only be possible to teach general matters, the number of strings and frets, the manner in which chords and runs are played, trills and the measure; but to perform, one would have to learn from the masters the delicacy of touching the strings in various ways, of subtly varying the pulse gracefully and of lending beautiful movement to one's performance.'⁶³

The Burwell Lute Tutor even calls these final points *the Soule of the Lute, the humour and fyne ayre of a lesson, which cannot be taught but is stollen better by the Eare in heareing those that play well*.⁶⁴ In the 17th century, the best composers for the lute were also the most excellent players.

The requirements for all compositions, such as *Allemandes, Courantes, Gagliardes, etc.* are summed up by the eighty-three-year-old Huygens for his son Christiaan in a letter of 11 January 1680, seven years before his death. He first refers to a verse of his own from 1649:

*Beau chant, chant inouy, par fugue un peu conduite,
le meilleur contrepunt et mouvement, et suite.*

which he then translates as:

*Een fraeij gesang, en nieuw, wat fugsgewijs beleidt,
Het beste contrepunt, swier en gevolgsaemheit.*

('A lovely song, and new, with fugue as its intent,
Counterpoint at its best, verve and a following bent.')

⁶⁵

⁶² J.-C. Maillard, *Dictionnaire de musique d'après Furetière* (Béziers, no date), entries for 'Air' and 'Mouvement'.

⁶³ *Ainsi l'Art de jouër du Luth, s'il estoit reduit en regles, ne pourroit enseigner que des choses generales, le nombre des cordes & des touches, la maniere de faire les accords & les passages, les tremblemens, & les mesures; mais il faudroit toujours apprendre des Maistres, dans l'exécution, la delicatesses de pincer la corde diversement, d'alterer un peu les mesures avec grace, de donner un beau mouvement à son Jeu.* [L'Abbé d'Aubignac], *La Pratique du Theatre* (Paris, 1657), i, p.23. Transl. JM and FJ.

⁶⁴ *The Burwell Lute Tutor*, f.41v.

⁶⁵ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, pp.1239-1240; Worp, *De gedichten*, iv, p.152. Transl. from the Dutch, which differs from Huygens's French version, by J.

The word *swier* he uses in his Dutch translation (*verve* in English) beautifully renders the idea of *mouvement*. A good composition gives the performer room for *sprezzatura*, the quasi-nonchalant gesture, and is not necessarily bound by the mandatory rules of counterpoint. In this letter to his son, Huygens gives 'the composers' the following advice:

'Hear, composers, hear from me
 What your counterpoint should be.
 Shun succeeding fourths and fifths and octaves too,
 And all that's too much like them in your view.
 All else that may perhaps to you appeal,
 Give freely to your ears, nor slavish make them feel.
 Each has his own beliefs and this is mine:
 I will be ear-wise and all pedantry decline.'⁶⁶

It is no coincidence that in the middle of the 1660s Huygens found *l'Illustre Monsieur Du Faut* to be *the rarest man I ever hope to see upon the lute*.⁶⁷ According to the Burwell Lute Tutor Dufaut's playing style was *very grave and learned*.⁶⁸ His contrapuntal manner of composing leaves room for *swier*, however, in the refined gestures of his preludes and dances and surely influenced Huygens's own lute pieces. When he played something of his own for Dufaut, the latter had not been dissatisfied, but even complimentary. One might think he could hardly have acted otherwise in such a class-conscious society as that of the 17th century, but according to Sybilla, dowager Duchess of Württemberg-Montbéliard and higher up the social ladder than Huygens, the latter was a person who really understood 'the noble music.' She also writes that his compositions had been praised by her teacher Johann Jacob Froberger, the great harpsichordist and organist.⁶⁹

Muller. In the Dutch version Huygens first used the word *trant* but in the margin he added the alternative *swier*.

⁶⁶ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.1240. Transl. JM.

⁶⁷ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.1084; p.1040.

⁶⁸ *The Burwell Lute Tutor*, f.5v.

⁶⁹ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, pp.1059-1060. Froberger's style of composing was closely related to that of the French lutenists, particularly Dufaut. Knowing that the composer would not object, Huygens arranged a harpsichord gigue by Froberger for the lute. He thought that it worked very well and sent him a copy of the intabulation in 1666.

The time Huygens spent in Paris must have been most inspiring: *All the time I can spare is given to musicke, both in hearing and in doing.*⁷⁰ Back in Holland, he continued to compose and to exchange compositions of his own and others within his enormous network. Alongside the lute it was the theorbo as a solo instrument in particular which now received Huygens's attention. One day after the letter to Joanna le Gillon mentioned earlier, he wrote, on 1 May 1670, to the famous singer and voice teacher Pierre de Nielle (Pierre de Nyert) in Paris. Referring to the enclosed selection of his own theorbo compositions, which he requested might be forwarded to *Messieurs de la Barre*, Huygens said: 'I throw out little fish to catch big ones, in the hope that these gentlemen will obligingly treat me to whatever delights they may have of their own or another, when they see how hard I try to achieve fame for this art, insofar as Dutch boorishness (*l'air grossier de Hollande*) will allow.'⁷¹ On the same day, Huygens wrote to the Governor of Marseille, Henri de Beringhen, then in Paris, about the 'coppers' with which he had just paid for the 'gold' he had received from Pierre de Nielle.⁷²

In July 1673 Huygens sent some twenty of his own compositions for the lute to the Brussels lutenist, the older Jacques de Saint-Luc, in order to prove that 'age has not quenched this passion in me'⁷³ and on 27 May 1675 he wrote to Saint-Luc of *la grosse Bible de mes compositions*.⁷⁴ To Henri de Beringhen, a few months later, he mentioned *gros livres*, fat books full of his compositions for lute, theorbo, viol, harpsichord and *s'il plaist à Dieu*, not without irony, guitar.⁷⁵ All this was in addition to the manuscript volumes of compositions by others, which must have been in his possession. In the spring of 1676 the seventy-nine-year-old Huygens summed up the number of his own compositions in a letter to Saint-Luc: 769 pieces for lute, theorbo, harpsichord, viol and guitar, plus his compositions for voice and theorbo, that is, the *Pathodia Sacra et Profana*, and works for viol consort and for three bass viols *en unison*.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.1041.

⁷¹ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.1100. The gentlemen in question were Joseph and Pierre de la Barre Jr., the musical sons of his deceased friend Pierre de la Barre.

⁷² Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.1103.

⁷³ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.1158. Transl. JM.

⁷⁴ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.1195.

⁷⁵ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.1198, 15 August 1675. The first time Huygens mentioned that he played the guitar and composed for *ce miserable instrument*, was in a letter to Sébastien Chîèze, 7 March 1673.

⁷⁶ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.1202.

By the end of his life, his output for the five instruments had exceeded the number of 800.

The manuscript volumes of his instrumental works were inherited after his death in 1687 by his second son Christiaan, but what happened to them afterwards is not clear. Two autograph volumes of lute music, most probably written in French tablature, were spotted at a bookseller's in Middelburg in 1738 and described by one Pieter de la Rue. They were bound identically in red morocco and had the word *Constantier*, Huygens's motto and signature, in gilded letters 'on both covers'.⁷⁷ The 'thinnest' volume contained 115 pieces for lute (*Allemandes, Courantes, Gagliardes*, etc.) in old tuning (*sur le vieil accord*) and was entitled *Constantini Hugenij – Muscae*; 'softly buzzing flies' according to Huygens and 'musical sketches' and 'creatures of my fancy' as can be read in the epigram dated 8 January 1648, which precedes the title page.⁷⁸

A copy of a letter from Saint-Luc dated August 1673 was pasted inside the front cover of the 'fattest' volume and can be interpreted as a tribute. It starts: 'Since answering your letter of 13 July I have examined and played your pieces at my leisure. I find them all good and the rules of composition have been followed very well. I can therefore add without exaggerating that I do not believe that there is anyone, not even in France, who could improve upon your work.'⁷⁹ If the aged Huygens had considered this letter to be mere flattery, he would certainly not have placed it in his book. It confirmed that Huygens's pieces were comparable to those of the French lutenists, which was the kind of compliment he craved.

This volume contained Huygens's compositions *sur l'accord moderne du Luth rangeë selon les Tons*; works he had composed starting in the early 1650s, in one of the new lute tunings, the D minor tuning. It is interesting that the date and even the place of each composition is given, for example: *Londini* or *Parissii* (so during the period in which he met Dufaut), *Hagae*, *Hofwijck*, but also *in rheda* (travelling in a coach), *sub tonsore* (at the barber's) and *navigare turbato Scaldi* (on the turbulent waves of the Scheldt).⁸⁰ In this case he did not add an epigram of his own, but one by Pliny the Younger which tells us what motivated Huygens in composing his lute music:

⁷⁷ Post, 'Constantijn Huygens' Muscae', p.276.

⁷⁸ Post, 'Constantijn Huygens' Muscae', p.276; pp.280-281. Transl. JM.

⁷⁹ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, p.1163. Transl. JM.

⁸⁰ Post, 'Constantijn Huygens' Muscae', p.277.

*Effinge aliquid et excude, quod sit perpetuo tuum
 nam reliqua rerum tuarum post te alium
 atq. alium dominum sortientur:
 Hoc nunquam tuum esse
 desinet si semel caeperit
 Plin. min. L. 1*

(‘Shape and fashion something that shall be really and for ever your own.
 All your other possessions will pass on from one master to another:
 this alone, when once it is yours, will for ever be so.’)⁸¹

Sadly, Huygens’s *Muscae* do not seem to have survived. At this time they remain invisible and inaudible. However, thanks to Huygens’s correspondence, poems and other surviving texts we can gain great insight into the rich lute culture of the 17th century. Huygens’s writings fit perfectly with the larger corpus of European texts concerning the lute, but they also give us a broader view of the instrument in its social context.

⁸¹ Pliny, Younger, *Pliny letters: With an English Translation by William Melmoth*, i (London-New York, 1931; reprint, London, 2013), pp.6-7.

CONSTANTIJN HUYGENS'S LOST INSTRUMENTAL COMPOSITIONS: SOME GUESSES ABOUT THEIR STYLE

JACQUES BOOGAART

Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687) loved to pose as a bourgeois gentleman for whom poetry and music were just a noble pastime from his professional work as secretary to the Princes of Orange, Stadtholders of Holland, Frederic Henry and William II. In fact he was a passionate poet and amateur-musician who by the end of his life had produced a considerable number of compositions for voice and for five kinds of instruments, more than 800 pieces according to his own estimate (letter 7251, written in his 90th year).¹ In contrast to his numerous poetical works in French, Dutch and Latin which for the most part were printed, only some 40-odd of these musical compositions have been preserved, notably in his collection of sacred and secular songs, *Pathodia sacra et profana*, which survived the vicissitudes of time because Huygens had it printed in 1647 by Ballard in Paris. Apparently he was very proud of this book, since he sent it to many persons of high rank, like the queens of England and Sweden and Cardinal Mazarin.² All the rest of his music, which remained in manuscript, has regrettably disappeared except for two early songs and an allemande in tablature for the viol.³ We know about the existence of

¹ The references in numbers of Huygens's letters are all to the new edition in R. Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven over muziek van, aan en rond Constantijn Huygens*, 2 vols. (Hilversum, 2007).

² *Pathodia sacra et profana occupati* (Paris, 1647); instead of an author's name it bears just the indication *Occupati* (suggesting the author was a man much occupied by his official work). Only three copies are now extant. Modern edition: *Constantijn Huygens: Pathodia sacra et profana occupati*, ed. F. Noske (Amsterdam, 1975).

³ See L.P. Grijp, "Te voila donc, bel oeil". An autograph tablature by Constantijn Huygens', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* xxxvii (1987), pp.170-4; T. Crawford, "Allemande Mr. Zuilekom". Constantijn

this oeuvre through the remarks in Huygens's letters and— partly — through the report of an 18th-century collector of rare books.⁴

Huygens's 'Muscae'

Some decades after Huygens's death, in 1738, Pieter Delaruë, accountant of the States of Zeeland, noted in his diary that he had bought three manuscript volumes with lute works in tablature by Constantijn Huygens in a bookshop in Middelburg; two of them were beautifully written on parchment and costly bound; the third was a paper copy. Delaruë made a very elaborate description of his purchase. Of one volume he even listed its contents, which were ordered according to genre: 18 allemandes, 23 courantes, 19 gaillardes, 2 gigue, 25 sarabandes, 11 pavaanes, 1 air, 6 psalms and 10 doubles; all in all 115 pieces in *vieil accord*. The mention of six psalms is intriguing: were these the traditional variations on psalm melodies often found in Dutch music of the time, were they copies of the psalm settings in the *Pathodia* or something entirely different? Of the other book Delaruë only noted that it contained works in the new French tunings and that it was ordered according to keys. The first book bore a long dedication in Latin to Huygens's children, from which it can be inferred that the author had this beautiful copy of his works made with the express purpose of preserving some of his artistic achievements for posterity. In the dedication he entitled his compositions as *Constantini Hugenij Muscae*, ('the Flies of Constantijn Huygens'). This is both an allusion to *Musicae* and a learned reference to the Roman emperor Domitian, who as a pastime used to pin down flies with a sharp pen; likewise, Huygens wrote, he would like to pin down with his pen his musical fantasies which 'fly like flies' and 'do not buzz very loudly but still do buzz.' A laudatory letter from Jacques de Saint-Luc, of which Huygens apparently was very proud, was pasted into the second volume.

Since these manuscripts contained only works for the lute, several more volumes must have existed with compositions for the other instruments Huygens played: the theorbo, for which he wrote that he had composed more than 75 pieces, the guitar, the viol, and the harpsichord. Moreover the 39 *Pathodia* are surely not all the songs he wrote; he probably had selected his best compositions for publication in print. His

Huygens's sole surviving instrumental composition', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* xxxvii (1987), pp.175-81.

⁴ This document was reported and discussed in S.D. Post, 'Constantijn Huygens' *Muscae*: Achttiende-eeuws handschrift werpt nieuw licht op Huygens' nagelaten composities', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* viii (1992), pp.275-83.

letters inform us moreover that he had made three-part settings of the *Pathodia* and he even boasted to have written Italian madrigals of such quality that connoisseurs took them to be Italian works.

A subsequent note by Delaruë reveals that Huygens indeed possessed many more such music books. After his purchase of the manuscripts Delaruë had offered the Huygens family the opportunity to buy back these costly relics of their forebear, but received the answer that they were not interested; it was pointed out (perhaps with some exaggeration) that the family library had contained some 200 volumes 'of that same kind' and that some 40 already had been sold. Assuming that these books were indeed music manuscripts, the majority probably were not amongst the lots which were offered at the successive auctions of the libraries of Constantijn Huygens himself, and those of his sons Christiaan and Constantijn junior, in 1688, 1695 and 1701 respectively.⁵ In the auction catalogue of his own library a volume is mentioned with works by François Dufaut, the famous French lutenist. Huygens no doubt possessed several more such books since his letters show that he was an avid collector of other musicians' works. In return he sent copies of his own pieces around to musicians all over Europe, asking modestly for criticisms and corrections, but probably hoping to receive a flattering judgment.⁶ Huygens's letters contain several notes about such parcels of music. In one letter (6974), dated 1675, to Jacques de Saint-Luc he mentions that in the past he had sent him 20 pieces in A and E which Saint-Luc had appreciated, and that he sends him now three dozen more, in D minor and major, and in G minor and major, promising still more pieces in yet five other keys. Thus the '200 volumes' must have included works of other composers.

We have, then, as it appears, lost a considerable corpus of Dutch instrumental music; the high quality of the *Pathodia* suggests that Huygens was a gifted musician. What can be said about his music style must be deduced from his composition 'rules', his extant music and from remarks in his letters about music and composers.

⁵ See R. Rasch, 'De muziekbibliotheek van Constantijn Huygens', in *Veelzijdigheid als levensvorm. Facetten van Constantijn Huygens' leven en werk*, ed. A.Th. van Deursen et al, (Deventer, 1987), pp.141-62.

⁶ Real criticism like that of the French gambist Hotman was not appreciated, as appears from letter 5658 to Marin Mersenne; Huygens was deeply offended.

Huygens's Composition 'Rules' and His Extant Works

In letters to musical friends Huygens liked to dwell on his way of composing; he is actually more informative about it than many a professional composer of his time. A rhymed set of conditions for a good composition is repeated time and again, in French and in Dutch, and with extensions and new comments. Rudolf Rasch has discussed the different versions of these 'rules'.⁷ Briefly: a composition must possess a beautiful and as yet unheard (i.e. original) melody; good counterpoint with several imitations; it should have fitting movement and coherence, and regular proportions. The rules are not very precise, rather an aesthetic viewpoint than a real instruction. One wonders, since he was not a professional composer, for whom he gave these precepts and why so often. For his children? Christiaan is the only son we know to have been interested in composition.

What we know about Huygens's musical style is thus exclusively based on his sole surviving viol piece, and on his vocal works and their accompaniments. The *allemande* for viol features a sparse and imitative style with only a few motifs.⁸ The *Pathodia* consists of 20 Latin psalms in a rather Italianate and impassioned declamatory style, 12 Italian arias and 7 French airs. His vocal style comes closer to the Italian ways of expression than to the more restrained French, although a composer like Michel Lambert, whose songs Huygens certainly must have known, may perhaps be fruitfully compared with him, especially with respect to the French airs. Of course these songs were written to express a text and will thus necessarily have been different from the purely instrumental works that must have consisted, in the main, of the customary dance movements. Melodically therefore, little may be inferred from the *Pathodia*, only that Huygens was indeed a talented and original melodist; his songs are among the best of the century. They also justify the conclusion that Huygens was capable of writing good and interesting counterpoint, and that he loved quick modulations, especially by means of sudden chromatic turns (Ex. 1).

⁷ See R. Rasch, 'De compositieregels van Constantijn Huygens', in *Harmonie en perspectief: Zevenendertig bijdragen van Utrechtse musicologen voor Eduard Reeser*, ed. A. Annegarn et al. (Deventer, 1988), pp.24-36. In their shortest form these rules are: 'Beau chant, chant inouï, Sur Fugue bien conduite, / Le plus beau Contrepoint, et Mouvement et Suite; / Ostez en un des six, la Piece est, par hazard, / Passable, mais non pas dans les regles de l'Art.'

⁸ For a transcription and analytic remarks, see Crawford, 'Allemande Mr Zuilekom'.

Ex. 1 Psalmus 29 (30): first part

A - ver - ti - sti, A - ver - ti - sti, A - ver - ti - sti fa - ci - em,
fa - ci - em tu - am a me et fac - tus sum, et fac - tus sum con - tur - ba - tus, con - tur - ba - tus.

The songs were originally provided with an accompaniment in tablature, but the Parisian printer, Ballard, asked Huygens to replace it by a basso continuo since tablatures were no longer popular in France. Thus, we have regrettably lost also this clue to his instrumental style. It can, however, be concluded from the printed edition that he had a predilection for a wide *ambitus* in his accompaniments, whose bass parts sometimes go far lower or higher than usual in the notation of continuo parts; see Ex. 2.

Ex. 2 Psalmus 142 (143), 'Memor fui': bass part

Memor fui

Huygens was proud of composing such wide ranges as appears from a letter to Marin Mersenne: he sent him his song 'Graves temoins' but without mentioning his authorship, and hypocritically asked whether Mersenne would know who made the song, adding that its descending bass line pleased him very much.

Remarks in Huygens's Letters

Further information about Huygens's ideas can be found in the remarks in his letters about his own music and that of other composers. He preferred melancholic works since these fitted his character better (letter to Franciscus de la Roist, 4780). Of his *Pathodia* (a newly coined word, combining the Greek *pathos* and *oidè* - song) he wrote in the same letter that he had chosen the most passionate moments in the psalms to express in music. In a letter to Ballard's assistant Gobert he noted that he had written the accompaniment for the psalm 'Memor fui' (Ex. 2) in tablature above the bass; he remarked that 'not any hand could bring this to a good end without doing injustice to me, who am very precise and sensitive in the choice of chords to accompany the song, since I found marvellous and mysterious differences of sound colour in them' (4428B). Regrettably this tablature too has not survived.

In a letter asking the composer Henri Dumont for critical remarks Huygens explained:

you know Gesualdo whose compositions mostly are bizarre and outside any rule and custom. Imagine that you are dealing with someone with a similar mindset and allow me my excesses, but not my mistakes. If you see a chance by changing some note to soften something that might shock the more sensitive ears, I'll be happy with it. But the order of my modulations is very dear to me and I desire that one leave that intact as much as possible. I know the rules but there are so many inconsistencies between the authors that I think each can have his own way, except of course for gross absurdities' (5591).

Thus he took his example from Gesualdo and compared his own surprising turns to the music of this passionate prince-composer – a noble amateur like Huygens himself.

On the other hand Huygens tried to discipline his fantasy and passion by means of concision and restriction because: 'I could go astray down a beautiful path and forget to attend to the right lengths when I follow an imitation or other agreeable idea, more than is allowed by the rules' (letters 5399, 5514). In his opinion pieces must have 12 measures per part (his existing songs do not obey that rule, but the allemande for viol does indeed, not counting the closing bars). His rules, cited above, betray the same care for moderation.

Both aesthetic ideals can be found in Huygens's other artistic product, his poetry, of which so much more has been preserved. His literary style is often a little laboured, even artificial and far-fetched in its formulation and expression, but at the same time his texts are concise and always convey a

precise thought (he very artfully translated 19 poems by John Donne with whom he felt artistically related). Such characteristics may also have applied to his musical compositions.

Influences from Other Composers

Many of Huygens's letters were addressed to musicians in France, England, Germany and Italy. To his correspondents belonged composers like Henry Dumont, the harpsichordist Johann Jacob Froberger, the lutenists Jacques Gaultier, François Dufaut, and Jacques de Saint-Luc, and the viol player Dietrich Stoeffken. These were professionals whose works and judgment he highly valued and whose advice he sought. The two musicians whom he admired above all are Froberger and Dufaut; he sent them his works and noted with satisfaction that they had complimented him (letters 6594 and 5899, to Utricia Ogle, the dedicatee of the *Pathodia*). Both are composers with a beautiful contrapuntal style (Dufaut was even mocked for it by the elder Gaultier).⁹ Next to a beautiful and new melody, good counterpoint was one of Huygens's precepts for a good composition. Thus we can assume that these composers served him as an example. Huygens had a collection of works by Dufaut in his library and possessed many works by Froberger; he even transcribed works of his for his lute and asked Froberger whether he liked these transcriptions (6583).¹⁰

Strangely, although between 1618 and 1624 he had stayed several times in England and had visited the royal court of James I in whose service John Dowland must still have been active, nothing in Huygens's letters reveals any contact with, or influence from this widely famed lutenist and song-writer. Perhaps Dowland's renown was already too much in decline at that time and his musical style too outmoded. Huygens must

⁹ Ennemond (le vieux) Gautier allegedly said that 'Mr Du fault would have made a good organist because his way is heavy and affects too much the pedantick rules of Musicke'. See *The Burwell Lute Tutor*, facsimile edn., ed. R. Spencer, (Leeds, 1974), f.68v.

¹⁰ It is also to Huygens that we owe the last information about Froberger's life and music. Froberger's protectress Sybilla, Duchess of Württemberg, described to Huygens the composer's last moments: she had promised him on his deathbed to keep the manuscripts for herself, but on Huygens's implorations he was allowed to have some of them copied, on condition not to divulge them further. Huygens wrote back that he already possessed many compositions by Froberger but would rather see them printed for posterity than hidden away forever. The answer of the Duchess is unknown (letters 6607, 6610, 6629A and 6673).

have known at least Dowland's printed music but referred only once in his letters to a 'woeful Lachrime' (4762).

His music library also contained very little music from his own country; Adriaenssen's *Pratum musicum* is the only printed lute book from the Low Countries mentioned in the auction catalogue of his library, and his letters show no interest in Dutch professional musicians.¹¹ Clues about Huygens's style are thus probably not to be found in the music of his compatriots like Nicolaes Vallet or Joachim van den Hove. The cultural ambience in which Huygens felt most at home was through and through courtly and French.

It is not easy to draw a well-rounded conclusion about Huygens's instrumental music from these different observations. On the one hand the *Pathodia* shows that Huygens was an original composer, a gifted melodist with a love for extremes of passion; on the other hand, in his writings he emphasized restraint and conciseness in composition, and his sole surviving instrumental piece corroborates that aspect. Huygens's instrumental style may have resembled (or have aimed to resemble) that of composers like Froberger and Dufaut, French in style and spirit but also strongly influenced by Italian expressiveness. A piece from his hand ideally possessed a beautiful and original melody (the melodies of his songs are all well-shaped and his text-setting is immaculate), was both concise and elegant in its proportions, somewhat laboured and contorted in its counterpoint and expression (like his poetic works), tinged with a little melancholy, and featuring some mysterious turns to surprise and grip both listener and performer.

¹¹ For a survey of lute culture in the Dutch Republic, see J.W.J. Burgers, *The lute in the Golden Age: Musical culture in the Netherlands 1580-1670* (Amsterdam, 2013), especially chapters 3-6.

III.

LUTE SOURCES FROM THE NETHERLANDS

UNKNOWN PIECES FOR LYRA-VIOL
IN JOACHIM VAN DEN HOVE'S AUTOGRAPH
MANUSCRIPT (BERLIN, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK
PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ (D-B)
MUS. MS. AUTOGR. HOVE 1, 1615)¹

FRANÇOIS-PIERRE GOY

Joachim Van den Hove composed almost all of his lute works in the common renaissance tuning (*ffeff*).² Ten pieces only – six for seven-course lute, four for six-course lute – make use of other tunings.³

*Florida sive Cantiones*⁴ includes two pieces for seven-course lute in the *feshd[c]* tuning, which Antoine Francisque had already used one year before in *Le trésor d'Orphée*:

f. 105r–105v, *Bransles* [no. 359]

f. 105v–106r, *Brande Gay*. [no. 360].

Nevertheless, there is nothing in *Florida* to warn that the tuning has to be modified for these two pieces. They are in fact suites of branles, and as is

¹ The original Dutch version of this chapter was published under the title 'Onbekende stukken voor lyra-viol in Joachim Van den Hove's autografe handschrift (D-B Ms. mus. autogr. Hove 1, 1615)' in the Belgian lute academy's *Yearbook 2013*, pp.9-16. The author wishes to thank (in alphabetical order) Jan W.J. Burgers, Julia Craig-McFeely, Annette Otterstedt and John H. Robinson, who provided him with important information and discussed his hypotheses.

² In this chapter, tunings are named with the help of tablature diagrams (from the first to the sixth course) according to the system devised by F. Trafficante, 'Lyra-viol tunings: "All ways have been tried to do it"', *Acta musicologica* xlii (1970), pp.183-205. In addition, the tuning of the seventh course is indicated between square brackets.

³ For each piece, the numbering from J.W.J. Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove: life and work of a Leiden lutenist 1567-1620* (Utrecht, 2013), is indicated.

⁴ (Utrecht: S. De Roy, J.W. de Rhenen, 1601; facsimile edn. T. Walstra, D. van Ooijen and R. Rasch, Utrecht, 2004).

often the case, only some of the individual sections can be found in other similar suites.⁵

All the other works in unusual tunings are to be found in the autograph manuscript D-B Mus. ms. autogr. Hove 1,⁶ which contains 108 pieces for lute with six to nine courses,⁷ four of which are dated from 1615. But here the retunings are explained with diagrams in tablature. A first group of four pieces for seven-course lute makes use of the tuning *efdef* [*h*]:

ff.45v–46r, *Almande* [at the end:] *Joachimus Vanden Hove Fecit & Composuit* [no. 241]

ff.46v–47r, *Praeludium* [at the end:] *Joachim Vanden Hove* [no. 32]

f.47v, *Wilhelmus* [no. 295]

ff.48r–49r, *Galliarde* [at the end:] *Joachim Vanden Hove*. [no. 219]

These pieces have no concordances, though various lute settings of the *Wilhelmus* are extant.⁸ This tuning is found at the time only in Van den Hove's manuscript, but reappears after 1640, this time for ten-course or eleven-course lute, as the *par bécarre* (with major third) counterpart of the *dfedf* tuning.⁹ The latter is already found in two tablatures printed in 1638, but there is no evidence that the *efdef* tuning was already in use then. It would thus seem that Van den Hove's pieces in this tuning remained isolated cases, and that the tuning was reinvented independently only about 25 years later, this time for a new lute type.

⁵ Bars 1–26, compare Antoine Francisque, *Le trésor d'Orphée* (Paris: P. Ballard, 1600), f.15v, *Premier Branle simple* (*ffeff*, C minor) and Jean-Baptiste Besard, *Thesaurus harmonicus divini Laurencini* (Köln: G. Grevenbuch, 1603), f.146v, *Branle a corde auallee* (*fefhf*, B flat minor); bars 46–71, compare Francisque, *Le trésor d'Orphée*, f.16r/1, *Second* (*ffeff*, C major) and Besard, *Thesaurus harmonicus*, f.147r/2, *Branle a Cor. A.* (*fefhf*, B flat major). These two suites by Francisque and Besard likewise do not entirely consist of the same dance tunes. A digital facsimile of the *Thesaurus harmonicus* is freely available at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1153999z>.

⁶ Facsimile edition: Joachim Van den Hove, *Lautenbuch: Leiden 1615*, ed. R. Jarchow (Glinde, 2006). See also Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, p.73, where it is shown that the manuscript definitely is an autograph.

⁷ The bass courses are noted under the staves with *æ* / *æ* // *æ* (ff.3r–81r), *æ* (f.175v, ninth course) and *a* (ff.175r–158v, seventh course).

⁸ See Van den Hove, *Lautenbuch*, introduction, p.18.

⁹ In D-B Mus. ms. 40264, these two tunings are named *new bemohl* (*dfedf*) and *new beduhr* (*efdef*), in Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanès, Ms. 147 (Rés. ms. 17) f.97r, *bémol enrumé* and *bécarre enrumé*. A digital facsimile of the latter is freely available at <http://www.e-corpus.org/notices/88279/gallery/>.

Further in the manuscript we find four pieces for six-course lute, in three different tunings:

ff.55r, *Ballet* (tuning *ffefh*) [no. 296];
 ff.61v–62r, *Almande* [at the end:] *J: v: Hove* (tuning *fhfhf*) [no. 243];
 ff.62v–63r, *Almande* [at the end:] *J: V: Hove* (tuning *fefhf*) [no. 244];
 ff.63v–64r, *Galliarde* [at the end:] *J.V: Hove* (tuning *fefhf*) [no. 221].

A concordance has been found only for the second of them, but not in a lute source: it proves to be identical with the *Almaine* on p. 20/1 in the *Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. viols* by Alfonso Ferrabosco II (1578–1628).¹⁰ When compared with the printed source, Van den Hove's copy shows several variants. Probably the lutenist had at his disposal one of the faulty manuscript copies of which Ferrabosco complained in the foreword of the *Lessons*.¹¹ Another, though less likely, possibility would be that Van den Hove did not copy his model faithfully, but introduced changes of his own. Bar 6 is missing, but may also have been unintentionally omitted during the copying.

As with Ferrabosco's *almaine*, the three other pieces mentioned above show all the peculiarities enabling us to distinguish lyra-viol or viola da gamba tablature from that for the lute. To begin with, no more than six courses are used. Thus, in the ballet (f.55v), the sixth course must be tuned down a major second, though the manuscript also contains many pieces for a lute with seven to nine courses.

Then, all the tunings are typical for the lyra-viol, though two of them are also found as lute tunings:¹² *ffefh* is the common tuning *ffeff* (the same as the lute's tuning) with the sixth string a tone lower; *fefhf* (also known as 'leero way' and 'bandora sett') is the earliest tuning of the lyra-viol. It was already used in 1601 by Robert Jones in *The second booke of songs and ayres*, and appeared two years later as lute tuning *à corde avallée* (that is

¹⁰ I would like to thank Annette Otterstedt, who provided me with a copy of Ferrabosco's *almaine*, after I had identified the piece by comparing its incipit. I have often consulted Dr Otterstedt's indispensable book, *Die englische Lyra-Viol: Instrument und Technik* (Kassel, 1989), while writing this chapter.

¹¹ Otterstedt, *Die englische Lyra-Viol*, p.83.

¹² About the tunings of the lyra-viol, see: Traficante, 'Lyra-viol tunings'; Otterstedt, *Die englische Lyra-Viol*, pp.37-55; F.-P. Goy and A. Schlegel, 'Stimmungsdatenbank', *Accords nouveaux* at <http://www.accordsnouveaux.ch/the/Abhandlung/Accords/Accords.html>, where the tunings of the various string instruments (lute, guitar, viola da gamba, mandora) are presented.

‘with lowered string’) in the *Thesaurus harmonicus* edited by Jean-Baptiste Besard.¹³ Meanwhile, *fhfhf* (also known as ‘eights’) seems of slightly later invention, as its earliest dated source is Ferrabosco’s *Lessons* of 1609. This tuning is found nowhere else as a lute tuning.

Lastly, what really distinguishes viol music from lute music is the fact that all chords are played on adjacent strings, because when playing a chord with the bow one cannot skip one or more strings. Both exceptions in the *allemande*, ff.62v–63r, may be considered as mistakes: bar 5, last crotchet, the *c* should be written on the fourth, not on the third line, because over almost two bars the bass follows the treble a third apart; bar 19, first crotchet, an *a* on the third string, in unison with the *f* on the fourth string, is obviously missing.

From all this one can deduce that all four pieces were originally composed for the lyra-viol. Unlike Ferrabosco’s *almaine*, the three anonymous pieces do not appear in the *Thematic index of music for viols*.¹⁴ Though attributing them to a definite composer is not the point here, it must be noted that in 1615, when D-B Mus. ms. autogr. Hove 1 was copied, music for lyra-viol or for solo viola da gamba in tablature was an English speciality.

In London, eight books with song accompaniments in tablature for lyra-viol or music for one, two or three lyra-viols had already been printed:¹⁵

Robert Jones, *The second booke of songs and ayres* (London: M. Selman, 1601): accompaniments only;

Tobias Hume, *The first part of ayres* (London: J. Windet, 1605): accompaniments and pieces for one to three lyra-viols;

¹³ See above, footnote 4. This tuning is mostly found in sources that are influenced by Besard or contain copies of pieces from the *Thesaurus harmonicus* (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. 18.8. Aug. 2°, ff.279r-282v, Haslemere, Carl Dolmetsch Library II.B.1, ff.281v-284v, Praha, Národní muzeum-České muzeum hudby, hudebně-historické oddělení IV.G.18, ff.156v-159r), but also in John Danyel, *Songs for the lute, viol and voice* (London: Th. Adams, 1606), in the bass lute part of no. XX, ‘Now the earth, the skies, the Aire’, and in Cambridge, Cambridge University Library (GB-Cu) Nn.6.36 (see below). A digital facsimile of the Wolfenbüttel manuscript is freely available at <http://diglib.hab.de/?db=mss&list=ms&id=18-8-aug-2f>.

¹⁴ Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain, *Thematic index of music for viols* at <http://www.vdgs.org.uk/thematic.html>.

¹⁵ List of sources according to F. Traficante, ‘Music for the lyra-viol: the printed sources’, *Journal of the Lute Society of Great Britain* viii (1966), pp.7-24, and Otterstedt, *Die englische Lyra-Viol*, pp.243-50.

- Tobias Hume, *Captaine Humes Poeticall musicke* (London: J. Windet, 1607): accompaniments and pieces for one to three lyra-viols or other instruments;
- Thomas Ford, *Musicke of sundrie kindes* (London: J. Browne, 1607): accompaniments and pieces for one or two lyra-viols;
- Alfonso Ferrabosco, *Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. Viols* (London: J. Browne, 1609): pieces for one to three lyra-viols;
- William Corkine, *Ayres to sing and play to the lute and basse violl* (London: J. Browne, 1610): accompaniments and pieces for solo lyra-viol;
- John Maynard, *The XII. wonders of the world* (London: J. Browne, 1611): accompaniments and pieces for lyra-viol and bass;
- William Corkine, *The second booke of ayres* (London: M.L. and T.S., 1612): accompaniments and pieces for solo lyra-viol.

In the few manuscript sources for lyra-viol that may be dated from before 1615,¹⁶ one encounters, together with Ferrabosco, Ford and Hume, the names of composers of whom no work appeared in print. In alphabetical order these are: Jeremy Chamberlaine, John Coprario, Daniel Farrant, Gervase Gerrarde, Andrew Marks, Joseph Sherlie and Robert Taylor. Almost all these manuscripts do not contain only pieces for lyra-viol, most of them being mainly lute tablatures.

Three belong to a series of lute manuscripts in the hand of Mathew Holmes (15??-1621).¹⁷ The first page of the oldest, Cambridge University

¹⁶ List of sources according to F. Traficante, 'Music for the lyra-viol: manuscript sources', *Chelys* 8 (1978-79), pp.4-22 (available at <http://www.vdgs.org.uk/files/chelys/08chelys1978-9.pdf>) and Otterstedt, *Die englische Lyra-Viol*, pp.250-64. Both authors date to c.1610 another source, San Marino, CA, Henry E. Huntington Library & Art Gallery EL 25 A 46. It is the soprano partbook from a collection of Italian madrigals and English consort music, with some pieces for lyra-viol in *defhf* tuning added on the pages left unused (*Thematic index of music vor viols*, Anon 7511-7514). W. Boetticher, *Handschriftlich überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarrentablaturen* (München, 1978) (RISM B/VII), p.318 dates the tablature section about 1630-5, much more plausibly, as the *defhf* tuning appeared only in the second quarter of the 17th century.

¹⁷ About Mathew Holmes and his manuscripts, see: I. Harwood, 'The origins of the Cambridge manuscripts', *Lute Society Journal* v (1963), pp.32-48; J. Craig-McFeely, *English lute manuscripts and scribes* (Oxford, 2000) (<http://www.ramesescats.co.uk>), pp.38, 401-26 and 531-9; M. Spring, *The Lute in Britain* (Oxford, 2001), pp.115-22 and 234. Digital facsimiles of all three manuscripts discussed here are freely available at

Library (GB-Cu) Dd.5.78.3 (c.1600), has the word *Viol* as a heading, though only the first piece is for lyra-viol.¹⁸ GB-Cu Dd.9.33 (c.1600-1605) likewise contains only one piece for lyra-viol in *ffeff* tuning, also the common tuning of the lute (f.95v/1),¹⁹ while Holmes copied eleven of them in his last manuscript, GB-Cu Nn.6.36 (c.1610-15).

Dublin, Trinity College Library (IRL-Dtc) Ms. 408/1, also known as the William Ballet lute book,²⁰ was begun c.1595-1600 as a lute tablature collection, but 63 pieces for lyra-viol were added there c.1610-15. Here the pieces for lute and those for lyra-viol have been added by different scribes at different times.

Two other sources, mainly in staff notation, contain some music notated in lyra-viol tablature. Cambridge University Library manuscript GB-Cu Dd.5.20, originally the bass partbook of the Cambridge consort books (from the early 17th century, in the hand of Mathew Holmes), also contains music for division-viol and 35 pieces for lyra-viol.²¹ In London, British Library (GB-Lbl) Add. MS 15118, from the first quarter of the 17th century, one may find songs for voice and bass and music for several viols (also from the second half of the century, including works by Davis Mell and John Jenkins), as well as nine pieces for lyra-viol.²²

The only early manuscript to contain just music for lyra-viol, GB-Lbl Add. MS 56279, in the hand of Silvanus Stirrop, cannot be dated with certainty from before 1615.²³

<http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-DD-00005-00078-00003> (Dd.5.78.3),
<http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-DD-00009-00033> (Dd.9.33) and
<http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-NN-00006-00036> (Nn.6.36).

¹⁸ See below, footnote 30.

¹⁹ This piece without title was not copied by Holmes. The same hand appears in four other manuscripts and Julia Craig-McFeely puts forward the hypothesis that this copyist could be Richard Allison (*English lute manuscripts and scribes*, pp.230-45). The same piece is also found in GB-Cu Dd.5.20, f.19v (*Thematic index of music for viols*, Anon 6501).

²⁰ See J. Ward, 'The lute books of Trinity College, Dublin. II, MS D.1.21 (the so-called "Ballet lute book")', *Lute Society Journal* x (1968), pp.15-32.

²¹ See L. Nordstrom, 'The Cambridge consort books', *Journal of the Lute society of America* v (1972), pp.70-103; W. Boetticher, *Handschriftlich überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarrentabulaturen*, pp.74-75, who dates the tablature section about 1610-30; *Thematic index of music for viols*, *passim*.

²² See Wolfgang Boetticher, *Handschriftlich überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarrentabulaturen*, pp.175-176; RISM A/II no. 800268652 (<http://opac.rism.info/search?documentid=800268652>); *Thematic index of music for viols*, *passim*.

²³ See P.J. Willets, 'Silvanus Stirrop's book', *R.M.A. Research Chronicle* x (1972),

All these manuscripts are of English origin. The first piece for lyra-viol to have been copied on the continent is a courante in *ffhfh* tuning by the English violist and composer Walter Rowe, written out in August 1614 in Hamburg, shortly before he was appointed as violist in the Elector of Brandenburg's chapel, in David von Mandelsloh's *album amicorum* (Lübeck, Stadtbibliothek Ms. hist. 8° 24, p.470).²⁴

The Hove autograph manuscript, D-B Mus. ms. autogr. Hove 1 is thus the earliest source in which music for lyra-viol was copied on the continent by a 'local' musician rather than an English one. To judge by the sources that have survived up to now, this did not happen again before the third quarter of the century,²⁵ again in the United Provinces, with the three manuscripts of Ebenthal, Privatbibliothek Goëss (A-ETgoëss) Ms. A, Ms. B and Ms. II, all copied in Utrecht in the 1660s by various scribes, most of whom seem to have been Dutchmen.²⁶

However, Van den Hove without any doubt copied the pieces mentioned above in order that they might be performed on the lute. He repeatedly wrote a dot under the letters that must be plucked with the index finger – this dot is a typical sign in lute tablatures, but by contrast is very seldom used by violists.²⁷ To be able to play in the uncommon *fhfhf* tuning, the lutenist must surely have changed the stringing of the two or

pp.101-107.

²⁴ See W. L. von Lütgendorff, *Das Stammbuch Davids von Mandelsloh: ein Beitrag zur Adelsgeschichte des 17. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg, 1893), with facsimile of Rowe's courante. The manuscript was taken in 1945 to the Soviet Union and given back to the Stadtbibliothek of Lübeck in the 1990s (information kindly provided by Stefan Funk, Stadtbibliothek Lübeck, email to the author of 22 August 2013).

²⁵ It is worth mentioning that the previously mentioned Walter Rowe had several students in Berlin, and thus probably also taught them solo playing from tablature.

²⁶ See in this book the chapter by R. Rasch, where the owner and main hand of those manuscripts is identified as Johan van Reede (1593–1682). The only other identifiable scribe is Dietrich Stöeffken. About the anonymous hands, see F.-P. Goy, *Die Notatoren der Goëss'schen Tabulaturhandschriften und ihr Repertoire* (Lübeck, 2015). Facsimile editions: *Goëss A* ([n.p.]: Tree Edition, 1999); *Goëss B* ([n.p.]: Tree Edition, 1997); *Goëss II*, ed. Tim Crawford (Munich, 1993).

²⁷ In early sources for lyra-viol, among others IRL-Dtc Ms. 408 (1), the dot under a letter means a 'thump' (pizzicato with the left hand). In the later manuscript Los Angeles, CA, University of California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library M286 M4L992 ('The Mansell lyra-viol book'), the dot is explained on f.38v as 'draw the bow backe', which, just like plucking with the index finger in the lute technique, occurs mostly on the unaccented beats or parts of beats, and is used in three pieces (ff.38v-39v).

three lowest courses (if he played on a six-course instrument), but this would also have been necessary when a violist wanted to play in this tuning.²⁸

Might one suggest that the English copyists Mathew Holmes and (supposedly) Richard Allison, too, intended the pieces for lyra-viol they wrote in GB-Cu Dd.9.33 and Nn.6.36 to be performed on the lute? This does not seem impossible. The works for lyra-viol are interspersed indiscriminately among those for lute, without any suggestion that they have to be played on a different instrument, just as in Van den Hove's manuscript.²⁹ By contrast, Holmes precedes a series of pieces for bandora in Dd.9.33, ff.81v-82r, with the word *Band.* in the top margin of f.81v, even though in this case the bandora's specific tuning would be enough to distinguish its music from that for lute, and heads Dd.5.78.3 with the word *Viol*, without mentioning that the contents from the second piece onwards are for lute.³⁰ Moreover, the same English copyist twice writes a dot under a letter in a galliard by Joseph Sherlie (Nn.6.36, f.34v, bars 3 and 15, the second note in each case), just as Van den Hove: of the two possible meanings – index finger of the right hand for the lute and 'thump' for the lyra-viol – the second seems rather unlikely, to judge from the musical context.³¹ Besides, Nn.6.36 contains one piece for seven-course lute in *fefhf* [c] tuning (f.16r/1) and one pavan for lute by Andrew Marks, who also composed for the lyra-viol. This last work (f.35r) is preceded and followed by lyra-viol pieces.

Similarly, it does not seem senseless to think that 'Miserere my maker' (GB-Lbl Add. MS 15117, f.6r), a parody of Giulio Caccini's 'Amarilli mia bella', the accompaniment of which undoubtedly was meant for the lyra-

²⁸ Otterstedt, *Die englische Lyra-Viol*, p.40.

²⁹ GB-Cu Dd.9.33, f.95v/1; Nn.6.36, ff.15r (four pieces, of which the last ends on f.14v), 15v (only the two first pieces; the third is for lute and was added later), 19r, 19v-20r (followed by one piece for lute, also added later), 20v-21r (followed by one piece for lute f.21r), 34v, 35v-36r. In the already mentioned A-ETgoëss MsII music for lute (ff.1r-38r), music for viola da gamba (ff.38v-85r) and again music for lute (ff.85v-91v) follow each other. They are not identified as such in the manuscript, and the tuning diagram for the first gamba piece is found on f.38r, immediately after a lute piece. The repertoires may be distinguished from each other through the number of strings or courses, the tunings and the composers.

³⁰ Should one conclude that for Holmes the lute was assumed as the instrument in this series of manuscripts and that this kind of note applied only to the page or the page opening where it stood?

³¹ On the contrary, there is no doubt that IRL-Dtc Ms. 408 (1) is for lyra-viol, as the playing instruction 'for the back of the bow' (i.e. col legno) appears there (Otterstedt, *Die englische Lyra-Viol*, pp.228-9).

viol, would have been considered by its copyist (probably Richard Mynshall) as a 'true' lute song. This song excepted, the manuscript indeed contains only lute songs and music for lute solo. Here the accompaniment should be played on a bass lute in D, an instrument used in two other songs in the same manuscript.³²

Another disturbing fact cannot be explained: why did Van den Hove sign three of those four pieces with his own name, though one of them is undoubtedly a composition by Ferrabosco and the other two very probably by unidentified English composers?³³ In the same autograph manuscript, he also signed his own name to an intabulation for six-course lute of Alessandro Striggio's 'Nasce la pena mia' (ff. 65v-70v) [no. 362] that Giovanni Antonio Terzi had already published in 1599 in a version for seven-course lute.³⁴ As Van den Hove wrote only his name at the end of the pieces for lyra-viol, it is not absolutely certain which role, composer or mere copyist, he intended to ascribe to himself in these cases. On the contrary, he seems to claim as his own the intabulation of Striggio's madrigal, though there is no reason to doubt Terzi's authorship: 'Transpositio di Joachimo Vanden Hove, In Honore del Signor Adamo Leenaerts Padrone mio'. Or did he just mean that he *transposed* it from Italian to French tablature? The different number of courses required and the variants between the two versions show that Van den Hove did not borrow the piece directly from the Venetian edition: possibly he worked from an earlier manuscript version for six-course lute.³⁵ Besides, Van den Hove's already-mentioned *Florida* as well as his second printed book,

³² 'Sleep wayward thoughts' by John Dowland, f.7r and 'In youthly years' by Robert Parsons, f.14v. Concerning this manuscript, see M. Joiner, 'British Museum Add. MS 15117: a commentary, index and bibliography', *R.M.A. Research Chronicle* vii (1969), pp.51-109; concerning the copyists, see Craig-McFeely, *English lute manuscripts and scribes*, pp.222-229.

³³ The lute sources from Leyden (the Thysius lute book, and the books by Van den Hove) contain much English music, including a number of pieces not found elsewhere on the continent. There was also extensive direct contact with English companies of actors and players; from 1590 on they often began their tours on the continent from Leyden: see Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, p.10 (information kindly provided by Jan Burgers).

³⁴ Giovanni Antonio Terzi, *Il secondo libro de intavolatura di liuto* (Venezia: G. Vincenti, 1599), pp.18-21, 'Nasce la pena mia del Striggio con passaggi'. See also Joachim Van den Hove, *Lautenbuch*, introduction, p.30.

³⁵ Only the beginning, up to the first half of bar 5, and bars 19 and 46 are really different from Terzi's version. Besides, there are many small variants between both versions, in particular because of the different number of courses. Van den Hove omits bars 94-95 and a few notes in bars 30-31 (the latter is incomplete).

Delitiae musicae,³⁶ are clearly anthologies³⁷ and only his last publication, the *Praeludia testudinis*,³⁸ contains only his own works. It is thus not surprising that the Berlin manuscript should include works by other composers.

Lutenists of the 17th century borrowed less from the solo repertoire for viola da gamba than gambists borrowed from them, and when they did so, they usually more or less adapted the transcribed pieces to their instrument.³⁹ If one accepts the hypothesis that Van den Hove and perhaps also Mathew Holmes, Richard Mynshall and Richard Allison (if he was the scribe in question) performed pieces in lyra-viol tablature on the lute, this would mean that the earliest of these borrowings consisted of mere copies and not of arrangements. Meanwhile, early 17th-century violists were already adapting lute works by Dowland to the lyra-viol; something necessary to be able to play them with the bow.⁴⁰

³⁶ Utrecht: S. de Roy, 1612; facsimile edn. Stuttgart, 2002.

³⁷ Of course, this applies also to the non-autograph manuscripts that contain works by Van den Hove: Hamburg, Privatsammlung Hans von Busch, without shelfmark, a copy of Christoph Herold's (1576-1631) lost lute book made in 1602 by an unknown German student at the University of Padua; Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Musikabteilung ND VI 3238, the lute book of Ernst Schele, dated 1619. Facsimile editions: *Ms. Herold, Padua 1602*, ed. A. Schlegel and F.-P. Goy (München, 1991), and Ernst Schele, *Tabulatur Buch*, ed. R. Jarchow (Glinde, 2004).

³⁸ Leiden: G. Basson, 1616; facsimile edn. ed. G. Spiessens (Brussels, 1982).

³⁹ See F.-P. Goy, 'Seventeenth-century viol pieces in settings for plucked strings (c.1625-c.1700)', *Chelys* xxii (1993), pp.30-41.

⁴⁰ See also Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove*, pp.79-80.

ADRIAEN VALERIUS'S NEDERLANDTSCH
GEDENCK-CLANCK (1626)
THE SONGS AND THE TABLATURES
FOR LUTE AND CITTERN¹

SIMON GROOT

The *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck* (Haarlem, 1626) is in fact a *geuzenliedboek* (often rendered in English as ‘beggars’ songbook’)² that was enlarged to extreme luxury proportions. The author, Adriaen Valerius (c.1575-1625), presents in 296 pages the history of the Dutch Revolt, from its beginning up to 1625, in alternation with songs that reflect on the events discussed. As stated on the title-page (Fig. 1), the book is ‘decorated with various fine engravings, and edifying poems and songs, with lessons taken both from Holy Scripture and from books of learned men’.³

¹ This is a reworking of my earlier article ‘De liederen in de *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck* van Adriaen Valerius’, *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* li (2001), pp.131-48. I would like to thank Prof. Dr Louis Grijp for his critical remarks on the present text and Prof. Tim Crawford for correcting my English.

² The members of a group of Netherlandish noblemen were called ‘gueux’ (the French word for beggars), when they visited Margareta of Parma, the Governor on behalf of the Spanish King, in 1566; the Dutch insurrectionists used this term as a badge of honour and called themselves ‘geuzen’. The songs about the Dutch Revolt are therefore called ‘geuzenliederen’; the song books in which they appeared ‘geuzenliedboeken’. See also L.P. Grijp, ‘Van Geuzenlied tot Gedenck-clanck’, *De zeventiende eeuw* x (1994), pp.118-132, 266-276.

³ Adriaen Valerius, *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck* [...] *Door Adrianum Valerium* (Haarlem 1626), title page: ‘Verciert met verscheydene aerdtige figuerlicke platen, ende Stichtelijcke Rimen ende Liedekens, met aenwijsingen, soo uyt de H. Schriftuere, als uyt de boecken van geleerde Mannen, tot verklaringe der uytgevallen saecken dienende’.

NEDER-LANDTSCH E
GEDENCK-CLANCK.

Kortelick openbarende de voornaemste geschiedenissen van de seventhien Neder-
Landſche Provincien, 't federt den aenvang der Inlandſche beroerten
ende troublen, tot den jare 1625.

Verciert met verſcheydene aerdtige ſiguerlike platen;
E N D E

*Stricktelijcke Rim en de Liedekens, met aenwijſingen, ſoo uyt de H. Schriften, als uyt de boecken van
geleerde Mannen, tot verklaringe der wygevallen ſaeken dienende.*

De Liedekens (meest alle nieu zijnde) geſtelt op Muſyck-noten, ende elck op een
verſcheyden Vois, beneffens de Tablatuer vande Luyt ende Cyther.
Alles dienende tot ſichtelijck vermaeck ende leeringhe, van
allen Lief-hebbers des Vaderlands.

Door
ADRIANUM VALERIUM.



TOT HAERLEM,

Gedruct voor d'Erffgenamen vanden Autheur, woonende ter Veer in Zeeland. 1626.
Met privilegie voor ses jaren.

Fig. 1. *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck*, title-page.

When the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-21) drew to an end, Valerius must have feared that the Dutch people would not take up the struggle against the Spaniards with the ferocity of yore; therefore he tried to awaken the Dutch again to the atrocities committed by the Spaniards. On the very first page of the main work, he made his motives clear:

It would be desirable that all the inhabitants of the Low Countries always bear in mind the malice of the Spaniards, their mean tricks, their double-hearted actions, insatiable greed and ambition, irreconcilable hatred, hostile and peevish nature, their displays of faithlessness, which they (for many years and up to the present day) have shown, and still are committing, with destructions, murders and violations in kingdoms, free republics, countries, cities and places, which they can overmaster by guile or violence; against all sorts of people, whether Christians (of whatever persuasion), or against wild, naked, unarmed, innocent heathenish nations; against kings, princes, dukes and such like, by God (to his service) anointed, as against the common and plain people; in order to come in the end to absolute power: a Spanish Monarchy.⁴

⁴ Valerius, *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck*, pp.[1]-2: 'Het ware een seer gewenschte sake dat alle d'Inwoonders der Nederlanden haer verkloectken ende genegen vonden altyt hen als voor oogen te stellen den boosen-aerd der Spanjaerden, haer loose vonden, haer dobbel-treckige handelingen, onversadelicke

As a source for the history of the Dutch Revolt, the *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck* is of little significance. In his contribution to the preface of the reprint of this book in 1942, the historian Tenhaeff made it perfectly clear that Valerius took his information almost entirely (sometimes even literally) from other publications.⁵ Only at the end of his book, Valerius mentioned a few instances, apparently on the basis of his own observations, that have not come to our knowledge via other routes.⁶

At small intervals, the presented history is interrupted by songs, 76 in total and all of them with musical notation.⁷ For the majority of the songs only the melody is given in mensural notation, but in ten instances a bass part is incorporated as well;⁸ one song is given with all three voices of the original polyphonic composition.⁹ In all instances the mensural notation is accompanied by settings of the same tunes for both lute and cittern, given in French tablature. In one case after a plain setting for the lute, an alternative is given in diminution; two pieces are in versions for three lutes.¹⁰ The songs are preceded by a poem not set to music and some

gelt ende eegierigheyt, onversoonlycken haet, vyandig ende wrevelig herte, met haere trouw-vergeten rancken, die sy (van over lange Jaren, ende noch ten huydigen dage hebben aengerecht ende bethoont, ende noch zijn plegende, met verwoesten, moorden, ende schendingen in koninckrijcken, vrye Republycken, landen, steden ende plaetsen, die sy connen met list oft geweldt verheeren, tegens alle soorten van menschen, soo Christenen (van wat ghesintheydt die zyn) als tegens wilde, naecte, ongewapende, onnoosele Heydensche volckeren, tegens Koningen, Princen, Hertoghen ende diergelycke personagien, by God (tot zijnen dienste) in opperheerlicheyt gesalft, als tegens de gemeene ende geringste luyden; op dat sy eyndlick mochten geraken ende komen tot eene over-al gebiedende macht ofte *Spaensche Monarchie*.'

⁵ N.B. Tenhaeff, 'Valerius' Gedenck-clanck als geschiedverhaal', in *Adriaen Valerius, Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck, herdrukt naar de oorspronkelijke uitgaaf van 1626*, ed. P.J. Meertens (Amsterdam, 1942), pp.XXIII-XLI, passim.

⁶ Tenhaeff, 'Valerius', p.XXIV.

⁷ Inclusion of the canon on the title page (Fig.1) makes a total of 77 notated melodies in the *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck*. A misprint in the last bar was corrected by a correction slip, present in only a few of the extant copies; the first two notes of this bar should read as a dotted crotchet B flat, followed by a quaver d'. See also C.A. Höweler & F.H. Matter, *Fontes hymnodiae neerlandicae impressi 1539-1700: De melodieën van het nederlandstalig geestelijk lied 1539-1700, een bibliografie van de gedrukte bronnen* (Nieuwkoop, 1985), p.91.

⁸ Nos.19, 35, 37, 45, 47, 55, 57, 68, 71 and 72. See Appendix 1, with an overview of all 76 songs, their incipits and tune indications.

⁹ No.75.

¹⁰ No.36 and nos.67 and 74 respectively.

aphorisms;¹¹ sometimes engravings also accompany the songs (Fig. 2). All in all the songs with their mensural notations and tablatures take up about half of the *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck*. This makes the book an important musical source.



Fig. 2. The Dutch Lion oppressed. Engraving from the *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck*, p.15.

Valerius's Death and the Publication of his Book

The *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck* was printed in Haarlem in 1626 and appeared in the last week of November or the first of December that year.¹² Valerius, however, had died on 27 January 1625, almost two years before. The manuscript was brought to the press by his heirs,¹³ and it is not

¹¹ The only exception being the last song, which will be discussed below.

¹² In the *Courante uyt Italien en Duytsch-landt* of November 28, 1626, is stated that the 'Nederlantsche Gedenckclanck' would appear in the next week. This fact was firstly mentioned by J.H. Kernkamp, in *Verslag van het 17^e Ned. Bibliotheekcongres te Rotterdam, 1939* ('s-Gravenhage 1940), p.91; see also Groot, 'De liederen in de 'Gedenck-Clanck'', p.132.

¹³ The title page states: 'Gedruckt voor d'Erfgenamen vanden Autheur, woonende ter Veer in Zeeland' ('printed for the heirs of the author, living in Veere in Zeeland', see Fig.1); the preface is signed by a certain I. Valerius, undoubtedly one

known in what state they found the manuscript. The text, however, does not seem to abruptly break off at the end and the common opinion is that Valerius completed it himself.¹⁴ It is not known whether Valerius's heirs also found complete notations of all the melodies and the lute and cittern settings. It is likely that Valerius collected them as far as he could during his work on the *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck* in the preceding years, but possibly he was still searching for some of them. The redaction of the song melodies is coherent and does not suggest different editors, and the same goes for the redaction of the lute and cittern settings. It is, however, uncertain to what extent Valerius was responsible for all of these himself. He may have had an assistant for the musical content, or parts of it, and other parts may have been the responsibility of his heirs or an editor they may have enlisted. In the text below, no effort has been made to disentangle who may have done what, and it is discussed as if Valerius was responsible for all of it.

A Luxury Songbook

It is noteworthy that in the *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck* the melodies of all the songs have been printed. In most contemporary song books a tune indication was obviously seen as sufficient; in some instances, music for just the less well-known tunes was printed. Of great value for the study of the Dutch song culture in the 17th century is the fact that Valerius not only notated the melodies, but also mentioned the names under which they were known. Moreover, a register with these tune indications is added at the beginning of the book (Fig. 3). Thus Valerius's book has been most helpful for scholars and musicians looking for the melodies of song texts in songbooks which do not have music.

In this register, the melodies are not arranged in alphabetical order, but by dance type and origin: Almains, Ballets, Branles, French Courants, Pavans, and French, English, Italian and Dutch song tunes. This table clearly reflects the international character of the Dutch song culture of the 17th century. Although Valerius is mistaken a few times when he states

of them (Meertens suggested that the I. was a misprint for an F., indicating François, the oldest son of Adriaen Valerius; see P.J. Meertens, 'Adriaen Valerius' leven en werken', in *Adriaen Valerius, Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck, herdrukt naar de oorspronkelijke uitgaaf van 1626*, ed. P.J. Meertens (Amsterdam 1942), pp.v-xxii, at p.xv and p.8).

¹⁴ Groot, 'De liederen in de 'Gedenck-Clanck'', p.132.

the origin of a melody,¹⁵ the table shows that he was thoroughly aware of it.

Tafel van de Stemmen ofte Vøyfen in defen Boeck begrepen.

<i>Almänden.</i>	<i>Folio</i>	d'Elaigne	258	Engelfche fonnle, of: Walfeh	Sonatemj un balletto	278
Guerre Guerre gay	74	<i>Pafcemee d'Anvers.</i>	122	Waelnnicken	Dimmi ché del mio core.	290
Prins dn Parma	114	<i>Franché wøyfen.</i>		Nou, nou,	Nederlandsche Stemmen.	
Nonnette	180	La Morisque	35	Cobbeler, of: Het Engelfch	Salick noch langer met heete	
Kits	184	La Dolphine	40	Rapperhen.	tranen	16
<i>duet</i>	222	La Vallette	42	Parvel, of: Wannee ich	Studenten dans	25
Mary Hofmans	266	Si cefte malheureufe bande	50	kaep, metten Was	Wilhelmus van Naffouwe	46
Montieur	286	Quand la Bergere	86	Soet Robbert	Maximilianus de Boffu	58
<i>Ealetten.</i>	20, 78, 80, 202	La Romanetto	108	Out loen, metten Was.	Floort allegaer in't openbaer	65
Marignault	292	La Borée	147	Fortuyn	Ghy die my met u braef ge-	
<i>Fransen</i>	22, 37	Gaillarde Belle	160	Gallirt fuit Margrit	laet	70
<i>Franché Couranten.</i>	26, 52	La Vignonne metten Was	174	The Clocke dauns	Snachts docn een blaet geflar-	
Si ceft pour mon pucelage	94	Eft ce le grand Dieu des	174	d'Engelfche min, of: Roek	de kleet	90
Durette	118	Alarms	264	leef ich int veech	Het was een ryck mans bor-	
Serbande	238	Une jeufine fillette	180	Com again metten Was	gers zoen	154
Seignoor	250	L'oranged	194	Woddecod	Heyt wilder dan wilt	170
O Angenietje	270	Franché Gaillarde	189	Malfins metten Was	Windeken daer het bofch	
De May die komt ons by	282	Quand ce beau printemps	234	Prins daphne	van drilt	191
<i>Pavamen.</i>		je voy	242	Com l'heapherders.	Pots hondert duyft, of:	
Medelyn	98	La picquarde	254	<i>Italianefche ftemmen.</i>	Almände Delchharing	222
Philippi metten Was	136	Gaillarde Maurice	254	Sei tanto gratiofo	O Heere geeft, , foo lange	
Lachrimé, metten Was	216	<i>Engelfche ftemmen.</i>		Quefta dolce Sirena	leef	225
		Engelfche daphne	30	Chi guerregia defia	Comedianen dans.	247
					Schoonfte Nimphe van het	
					Wout.	234

Waerfchouwinge.

De Tablatuer der Luyt die is van feven fnaren ;
 So yemant op zijn Luyt nu heeft een meer getal :
 Die kan de Baffen felfs en Toonen uyt vergaen :
 De Cyter is gefelt op't Franché over al.

Fig. 3. Register of the tunes in Valerius's *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-Clanck*

That Valerius attached great importance to the music in his book is obvious not only from the register of tunes, a rarity in Dutch songbooks,¹⁶ but also from the fact that a different tune is supplied for each song,¹⁷ and that there is musical notation for each too. Another indication of the value that was attached to its musical content is the oblong format of the book (common in music prints, less so in non-musical books) and, last but not least, its title: 'Gedenck-clanck' ('memorial sound').

¹⁵ For instance, for his song 'Merck toch hoe sterck', Valerius gives as the tune indication 'Comedianen dans' and classifies it in his table among the 'Nederlandtsche Stemmen'. Obviously, Valerius was not aware of the origin of this melody in England, where it was known with the text 'What if a day or a month or a year'. The oldest setting for lute and voice is by Thomas Campion (1567-1620) and a lute setting by Dowland is in the so-called Folger Dowland lute book.

¹⁶ L.P. Grijp, *Het Nederlandse lied in de Gouden Eeuw. Het mechanisme van de contrafactuur* (Amsterdam, 1991), p.161.

¹⁷ In one case Valerius has used two variants of the same melody: a version in duple time (for *Bitter droeve klachten*, no. 2, with the tune indication 'Ballet La durette') and a version in triple time (for 'Al wat den mensch bejegenet', no. 33, with the tune indication 'Courante durette').

With its oblong format, the above-mentioned poems not set to music, and the engravings, the *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clanck* fits into a series of luxury song books that appeared in the early 17th century, including: *Den nieuwen lusthof* (1602), *Apollo of ghesangh der Musen* (1615), J.J. Starter's *Friesche lusthof* (1621), G.A. Bredero's *Groot liedtboek* (1622) and the *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* (1627).¹⁸

The Musical Content of the *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clanck*

Adriaen Valerius was neither a musician nor a poet by profession; he was a wealthy notary and civil servant.¹⁹ Poetry was for him a leisure activity, though most probably not an unimportant one. From 1598 on, he was a member of the 'Chamber of Rhetoric' in his home town Veere, and in 1617 he was chosen as 'overdeken' (high dean) of this chamber.²⁰ About his musical activities nothing is known, but it seems likely that he played the lute himself and possibly also the cittern.²¹

Valerius did not write the melodies for the songs in the *Gedenck-clanck* himself. According to the habit of his time, he presented new texts for pre-existing and mainly well-known melodies, so-called contrafacta.²² This was not only common practice, it had practical use as well. Singing the songs, anyone could join in immediately; no effort was needed to learn the tunes in advance and the singers were not required to be able to sing from notation. However, Valerius wrote the *words* for all 76 songs, except for just three. In these cases we find (slightly altered) texts of well-known *geuzenliederen* of those days: 'Wilhelmus van Nassouwe', 'Maximiljanus de Bossu' and 'Hoort allegaer'.²³ Valerius's own songs are considerably shorter than the common *geuzenliederen*. The majority of Valerius's songs have three stanzas; the average comes to about three-and-a-half stanzas.²⁴ The three well-known *geuzenliederen* in the *Gedenck-clanck* have 15, 11

¹⁸ L.P. Grijp, 'Muziek en literatuur in de Gouden Eeuw', in *Een muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, ed. L.P. Grijp (Amsterdam, 2001), pp.245-53, at p.245.

¹⁹ Meertens, 'Valerius' leven en werken', pp.v-xxii; Groot, 'De liederen in de Gedenck-Clanck', pp.131-2.

²⁰ Meertens, 'Valerius' leven en werken', p.vi.

²¹ In the final song Valerius mentions 'the sound of my lute' (Valerius, *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clanck*, p.292), but this might be a form of poetic licence.

²² Grijp, *Het Nederlandse lied in de Gouden Eeuw*, passim.

²³ Nos.12, 16 and 18 respectively. In all three instances Valerius mentions in his text the fact that he presents well-known songs.

²⁴ Forty-three songs in the *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clanck* have three stanzas; six songs have only one stanza, ten songs have four stanzas, ten songs five, three songs six and one song has seven stanzas.

and 19 stanzas respectively. Here it should also be mentioned that Valerius did not use any melodies from the Genevan psalter, which may be seen as remarkable for a convinced Protestant at that time.

Valerius may have notated some of the melodies by ear, but not being a professional musician, he may primarily have looked for written examples that he could copy. The same goes for the lute settings: many printed lute books containing the tunes Valerius needed were available at the time, and many manuscripts will have circulated, some of which are extant at the present day.²⁵ Although some books with music for the cittern were printed in the Dutch provinces in the early 17th century, they cannot be consulted for cognates, because they are all lost.²⁶ Nevertheless, it appears that at least some of the cittern settings were based on pre-existing score, but others will have been written on the basis of the tunes as Valerius collected them, as we shall see later.

Valerius's Sources for the Mensural Notations

As a matter of fact, some printed sources that Valerius must have used for both the mensural notation and the lute settings can be traced. One of these is the song book *Friesche Lust-hof* by J.J. Starter (Amsterdam, 1621) (Figs. 4a and 4b).²⁷ Valerius and Starter have 14 melodies in common, seven of which are notated almost identically;²⁸ three other tunes have many similarities, but also some deviations that raise questions about a

²⁵ This study was restricted to the printed lute publications that appeared before 1625 and to the extant manuscripts from the same period that were connected in one way or another to Dutch musical life (see J.W.J. Burgers, *The Lute in the Dutch Golden Age: Musical Culture in the Netherlands 1580-1670* (Amsterdam 2013), pp.104-105, 109-110). For an overview of these sources, see Appendix 3.

²⁶ For instance: Jan Pzn. Sweelinck, *Nieuw Chyterboek genaemt den Corten Wegwyser die 't Hert verheugt* (Amsterdam 1602, reprinted 1608), mentioned in both the inventory of a book shop (1647) and an auction catalogue (1759); Willem de Swert, *Citerbouck [...] van vijftich phsalmen Davidts ende achtende vijftich mysick stucken ende lydekens, tzamen maeckende hondert ende acht stuck, alles in tabelature, geintituleert Corte wechwijser ter deucht* (Amsterdam, c.1607), the privilege for this print was mentioned in documents in the National Archive in The Hague; and Michiel Vredeman, *Der Cyteren lusthof*, mentioned in an inventory made in Leeuwarden in 1618. See also Burgers, *The Lute in the Dutch Golden Age*, pp.18-19.

²⁷ See also M. Veldhuyzen, *De melodieën bij Starters Friesche Lust-hof* (Zwolle, 1967).

²⁸ Nos.20, 26, 29, 40, 49, 60 and 68; see also Groot, 'De liederen in de 'Gedenck-Clanck', table 1.

direct relation,²⁹ while the notations of the remaining four tunes are not related.³⁰ Illustration 4 shows an example of the relationship between Starter's and Valerius's scores.

Gefangh,
op de wyse: Ghy die my met u braef gelaet, &c.

Princede die mijn siel gebiedt/ O Wou dan mijn hart/ Alderdt op 't onpdelijck verdziet/ En d'hevige
 smart/ Die ick om dy/ Gestadigh ly/ Erbarind u doch eens over my/ Met suchten en klagen ver-
 sijt ick mijn dagen/ 't Is swaer te verdragen/ Geloofst het byp.

1't 2p

Fig. 4a. J.J. Starter, *Friesche Lust-hof*, p.62.

Stem: Ghy die my met u braef gelaet: &c.

En monster van een valsche ge-laet, O grand Commandeur! Syt g'over al in laet en
 daet, Daer gaet ghy voor deur, Maer g' hebt geë Moor Al-hier by't oor, Die ghy so veel bragt om, en door, Seig-
 noor bylo neen-je, U selver verkleen-je, Ghy booswicht wie meen-je Te hebben voor?

Fig. 4b. Adriaen Valerius, *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck*, no.20, p.70.

Valerius edited the notation to fit his own editorial principles, of which the bar lines (not yet common in those days and absent in the majority of his sources) are perhaps the most striking element – below we will see a probable reason for their addition. These bar lines are accurately presented in almost all the mensural notation in the *Gedenck-clanck*,³¹ with the (inexplicable) exception of songs no.37 (where they are lacking in both the

²⁹ Nos.44, 47 and 64.

³⁰ Nos.6, 31, 39 and 53.

³¹ A solution had not yet been found for the notation of notes that went over the bar line. In the *Gedenck-clanck* dots are therefore placed after the bar line and sometimes the bar line was simply replaced (Fig.13d).

superius and the bass parts in the second half of the melody) and no.57 (where they are lacking in both the superius and the bass parts throughout the song). Apart from bar lines, Valerius also added accidentals if he thought they were necessary. A comparison with Starter in the example in Fig.4b shows that he added the flats in bars 5 and 11 (which, although absent there, definitely had to be sung in Starter's version too), and the sharp in bar 13, an example of 'musica ficta', which was left to the discretion of the singers by Starter.

Stemme: D'Engelsche Klocke Dauns.

Ick had voer desen (so doen ick noch) Genomen vastpriel voer/ Cupidoos yesen en
schalk be-drogh/ Te geven geen gehoor/ Ick sagh/ t gekilagh van so veel minnaers
aen/ Dien hyt bedruypt liet siaen/ En in de Liefde verbaen/ Doen heb ick wel haerck gesepd/ Ick ben
angestigh voer de Heyd/ Ick laetse veel liever gaen.

Fig. 5a. J.J. Starter, *Friesche Lust-hof*, p.44.

Stem: d'Engelsche klocke dans.

Ick meyn g'u veeren, Vry vind ge-kort, Hoogmoedig Spaech ty-ran,, Seg my,, Meynt gy,, Te
So sal m'u scheren,, Als u wat schort, Comt weder eens maer an.
dwingen al-le man (Men acht niet uwen ban) Neen vriend, ghy moeter van. Als God derHeerē Heer,, U
teges is so seer,, Wat kont ghy na-ken dan?

Fig. 5b. Adriaen Valerius, *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck*, no.40, p.150.

In some instances Valerius deviated a little more from his sources than in merely adding bar lines and accidentals. In the example shown in Figs. 5a and 5b, Valerius has left out the initial rests (common for notation without bar lines, but unnecessary when bar lines are used), he used a repeat sign

for the first part of the melody and reduced the duration of the final note in correspondence to the upbeat.³²

Apart from the application of his own editorial principles, Valerius also changed the F of his exemplar into a G (bar 12) and added an ornament in the penultimate bar (note the remark on this point in the errata, Fig. 5c).³³ The alteration in bar 12 could be a misprint, but the G is melodically more satisfying (in accordance with the sequence of this fragment in the next bar); the alteration in the penultimate bar is of course not the result of a mistake; it is clearly the choice of Valerius to present the melody this way. It appears from this example, that Valerius did not always follow his sources slavishly, he changed the notation if he knew the melody himself in a different form, or thought a change would constitute an improvement.



Fig. 5c. Adriaen Valerius, *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck*, errata, p.[298].

Unfortunately the lute and cittern settings of this song throw no light on the question as to whether the above-mentioned G is a misprint or Valerius's choice. The cittern setting ignores both of the alterations in the vocal score of the tune and in both instances follows Starter's version (see also below, where the cittern settings are discussed). The lute setting on the other hand does not present the ornamentation of the penultimate bar, but has a C (corresponding with a G in the mensural notation) in bar 12; however, this is only true when the corrections of the errata (presented on the last pages of the *Gedenck-clanck*) are followed: the original chord on this spot has a B flat (corresponding with the F of Starter's version). It must be admitted that at least the two other original chords (presented between brackets in the transcription) give more convincing results than the corrections as given in the errata (Fig. 5d).

³² Valerius has the uncommon spelling 'dauns' in the register, just as it was used in the tune indication by Starter.

³³ I.e. page 150, line 3, between the 12th and 13th notes; an A has to be added.

40. ICK MEYN G'U VEEREN

Stem: d'Engelsche klokke dans.

Ick meyn g'u veeren,, Vry vind ge - kort, Hoogmoedig Spaensch tyran,, Seg
 So sal m'u scheeren,, Als u wat schort, Comt weder eens maer an.

my,, Meynt gy,, Te dwyn - gen al - le man (Men acht niet u - wen ban) Neen vriend, ghy moc - ter

van. Als God der Heeren Heer,, U te-gen is so seer,, Wat kont ghy ma - ken dan?

* These chords are changed on the basis of the errata, the original chords are transcribed between brackets.

** This note added on the basis of the errata.

Fig. 5d. Transcription of the melody, lute and cittern setting of no.40.

Melodies with an Accompanying Bass Part

Ten melodies in the *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck* are presented with an accompanying bass part and another one is presented with all three parts of its original composition. Six of these two-part songs are based on English tunes,³⁴ four are based on polyphonic compositions by Gastoldi,³⁵ and the one remaining example is of French origin.³⁶ It is most likely that Valerius presented these two-part songs as he found them in the sources he used.

Unsurprisingly the added parts of the compositions by Gastoldi are taken from the polyphonic sources. Two of them were first published in the *Balletti a cinque voci* (Venice, 1591) and the other two in the *Balletti a tre voci* (Venice, 1594);³⁷ it is, however, likely that Valerius used one of the many Antwerp reprints by Phalèse instead of the original Italian publications.³⁸ They all appear in the last part of the *Gedenck-clanck*, presumably indicating that Valerius got his hands on these issues only in the last stage of his work. Possibly he added the bass parts of these tunes in the style of the two-part songs that appeared earlier in the *Gedenck-clanck*. It is understandable that Valerius did not copy all five parts of the polyphonic original, but it is inexplicable why he included all three parts of one three-part original (no.75) and only two of the other (no.72). At all events, in one of these four cases, the melody was also used by Starter, but with some slight deviations from Gastoldi. Although we can assume that Valerius used Gastoldi's version because he also gave the bass part from the polyphonic source, Valerius used a variant together with a corresponding rhyme scheme found in Starter's version (Fig. 6).³⁹ This shows again that Valerius did not always copy his sources literally, and apparently felt able to modify the tune if he knew a slightly different version.

³⁴ Nos.19, 35, 37, 45, 55, 57.

³⁵ Nos.68, 71, 72 and 75 (the last of which is the only three-part song in the *Gedenck-clanck*).

³⁶ No.47.

³⁷ See Groot, 'De liederen in de 'Gedenck-Clanck'', table 3.

³⁸ According to the RISM-A/I catalogue, the *Balletti a cinque voci* were printed by Phalèse during Valerius's life time in 1596, 1601, 1605, 1612, 1617, 1620 and 1624; and the *Balletti a tre voci* in 1602, 1606 and 1617.

³⁹ Although the tune 'Questa dolce sirena' was very popular in Valerius's time, the rhyme scheme .3A.3A 2B 2B 2c.3A.3D.3D 2E 2E 2c.3D, as used by Starter was not very common. Valerius followed this scheme, with only a slight deviation in the third sentence.

La Sirena.

Gastoldi

Ques - ta dol - ce Si - re - na Col can-to acque-ta il mar Fa la la la la

Stemme: Questa dolce Serena.

Starter FL

1. Cu - pid/ on-lanx ge - le/en/ Quam recht naer Vriesland tre/en/ Hy ver - liet/ vol verdriet/ gansch

Stem: Ballet. Questa dolce Sirena.

Valerius

Heer! ala ick denck aen't goet Dat ghy ons mensche doet, Son-der - ling., Dan ont-springen myn

la la Fa la la la la la Un suo leg-gia-dro ri - no Può fa - ria se - re -

Grie - ken/ En koos ons land al - leen/ Daer quam het Boef-jen doe/ Ver - heugden wel te

le - den, Met een ver-heugt ge - moet. Merckt eens o menschen aent Wat God al heeft ge -

nar Fa la la la la la la la la Fa la la la la la. la.

moe/ 't Had een boogh/ en het vloogh met syn wie-ken/ Recht naer myn lief - ste toe.

daen Voor een werck., Aen syn Kerck, Om met vre - den Hier 'tzy - nen dienst te gaen.

Fig. 6. 'Questa dolce Sirena', comparison of Gastoldi's original tune, with the versions of Starter and Valerius.

The song 'Myn Ziele treur!' (no.57) is based on the famous 'Lacrime' or 'Flow my teares' from Dowland's *The second Booke of Songes or Ayres* (London, 1600). However, Valerius's mensural notation (in D minor) differs from the original setting by Dowland, which is in A minor. The version in the *Gedenck-clanck* uses the same key as the 'Lachrimae pavin', as arranged by Thomas Morley in his *The First Booke of Consort Lessons*

(London, 1599).⁴⁰ The bass part in the *Gedenck-clanck* is in fact identical to the bass-viol part in this source, although the different clefs (a baritone clef in the *Gedenck-clanck* and a bass clef in Morley's setting) throw doubt on direct borrowing. The reading of the soprano part, on the other hand, has some variants in common with the notation of this melody in Camphuysen's *Stichtelycke Rymen* (Fig. 7), but in that source no bass part is given.⁴¹ Apparently a variant version of this melody was circulating in the Netherlands and Valerius took his two parts from a source that cannot be traced.

The image shows a musical score with three staves. The top staff is Dowland's 'Lacrimae' in a baritone clef (C4). The middle staff is Camphuysen's setting in a French G-clef (G4). The bottom staff is Valerius's setting in a bass clef (F3). The lyrics are written below the staves, with some words aligned under specific notes. The lyrics are: 'and teares, and sighes, and grones my wea - ric dayes, ij. and feare, and grieve, and paine for my de - serts, ij. Die (in 't hert, Staegh benert, En verwert Door qua waen van vreuchd en smert Zoekend' Al't verdriet, 't Welckmen ziet Dat geschiedt En de wer't van over - vliet, Is zoo Als wanneer,, Ghy u Heer,, Dus helpt voort,, End' so schandig hebt vermoort? Die naer

Fig. 7. Comparison of a fragment of Dowland's 'Lacrimae' with a joint variant by Camphuysen and Valerius (note the French g clef in Camphuysen).

Whatever Valerius's source may have been, presumably at least the bass part was instrumental, for Valerius neglected to amend the rhythm of two breves (Fig. 8): six syllables in the bass part have to be sung to only two notes (these two breves correspond to the instrumental bass part of Morley's arrangement, but the original texted bass of Dowland's 1600 print had the notes divided to set five syllables).

Possibly the same unknown source provided Valerius with notations for the other English melodies that he presented with an accompanying bass part (nos. 19, 35, 37 and 55). In the 'Pavana Philippi' (no. 37) for instance, the bass part of Valerius's setting is again much the same as in Morley's arrangement in *The First Booke of Consort Lessons*, but again some small differences raise doubt about direct borrowing. A note by

⁴⁰ A volume containing instrumental arrangements of popular compositions for an ensemble of 'the treble lute, the pandora, the cittern, the base-violl, the flute & treble-violl'. Unfortunately, Morley's lute parts have not been preserved.

⁴¹ Although 21 melodies from the *Gedenck-clanck* also occur in *Stichtelycke Rymen*, the differences in the notations make clear that Valerius did not use this song book as a source for his notations of the melodies. This does not really come as a surprise, for the *Stichtelycke Rymen* came out in 1624, only shortly before Valerius's death.

Valerius to the bass part of the song ‘Ay hoor eens buerman lieve kaer’ (no.55), on the melody of ‘Malle Sijmen’ or ‘Mall Sims’, points to the fact that for this song at least the bass part was an instrumental one in the source. Valerius gives no text with this part and explains this as follows: ‘In order not to take away the nature of this tune, the words could not be fitted well to the bass line, or one had to compose it entirely in another way’.⁴² Maybe also the tunes for Robert Jones’s ‘Farewell dear love’ (no. 19) and ‘’T quaet groeyt in groot getal’ (no.35, with tune indication ‘Engels Oud Ioen’), that were provided with a bass part, were taken from the same lost source.

B A S S U S.

Myn Ziele treur! en doet u klachten! W end u ge-dach-ten, Om over luyd,, Te schreyen uyt,, Met finert,, U
 droevig hert! O Godde-lo-fe mensch! Hebt ghy nu al u wensch? Als wanneer,, Als wanneer,, Ghy u
 Heer,, Dus helpt voort,, End' so vermoort? Die naer Gods Wet,, Tot Koning was gefet? Siet wat ghy hebt bedre-
 ven! Ghy moogt wel beven. Boofc, loofc, fmooc-de fied! Wat raet nu met u ar-me fied!

Fig. 8. Bass part of ‘Myn Ziele treur’ (no.57), *Nederlandtische Gedenck-clanck* (p.217). Note the relation between notes and text at the end of the third line.

The only other song with a bass part (no. 47, with tune indication ‘La Vignonne’)⁴³ is of French origin. The oldest printed source for this tune is a lute setting by Robert Ballard in his *Diverses pieces* (Paris, 1614), but some manuscript sources may well be of earlier date; the Dutch lutenist Joachim van den Hove wrote a setting in his autograph manuscript in the beginning of 1615.⁴⁴ The source that provided Valerius with a soprano and a bass part may possibly not have been the same as the one for the English tunes, but again this is an exemplar that could not be traced.

⁴² Valerius, *Nederlandtische Gedenck-clanck*, p.207: ‘Om den aert van dit voysken niet te benemen, en konnen hier niet wel de woorden onder den *Bas* gebracht worden, ofte men moste de selve geheel op een ander maniere componeren’.

⁴³ Also known as ‘L’Avignonne’.

⁴⁴ J.W.J. Burgers, *Joachim van den Hove: life and work of a Leiden lutenist 1567-1620* (Utrecht 2013), pp.72-77.

In the songs with an additional bass part, in two instances mistakes had serious consequences for the vertical correspondence between the soprano and bass parts, and as a result problems occurred, unnoticed by Valerius or his editor. In the song 'Almachtig God!' (no.19), on Jones's 'Farewell dear love', a great many parallel fifths occur, partly due to the fact that a minim rest in the soprano part was omitted (see Fig. 9 for a comparison of a fragment in Valerius's edition with Jones's original).

The image displays a comparison of two musical settings side-by-side. The top setting, labeled 'Jones', is for the song 'Farewell dear love'. It features a soprano part (treble clef) and a bass part (bass clef). The lyrics for the soprano are 'there be ma-ny mo though that she do go there be ma-ny etc.' and for the bass are 'there be ma-ny mo, though that she doe go there be ma-ny mo I'. The bottom setting, labeled 'Valerius', is for 'Almachtig God!'. It also has a soprano and bass part. The lyrics for the soprano are 'Die u lie-ve kerc, Mach-tig synd'en sterc, Die u lie-ve etc.' and for the bass are 'Die u lie-ve kerc, Mach-tig synd'en sterc, Die u lie-ve'. The notation shows that in the Jones version, a minim rest is present in the soprano part at the beginning of the first measure, which is missing in the Valerius version, leading to a misalignment of the parts.

Fig. 9. Comparison of a fragment from 'Almachtig God!' with 'Farewell dear love'.

In another two-part song, 'Ach bitterheyt!' (no.45), both the soprano and the bass parts were based upon Dowland's 'Come againe', from the *First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (London, 1597). As the result of a misprint in this first issue of Dowland's volume, the soprano part in Valerius's version is short of three minims relative to Dowland's original intention. However, where this occurred, Dowland's bass part is strictly followed; as a consequence the two parts shift relative to each other if read literally. When at the end the bass part turned out to have some notes left over, they were simply omitted (Fig. 10).

In the first example mentioned above, the problem discussed was most probably already present in Valerius's source; in the second instance it is less clear whether Valerius found the mistake already in his example, an intermediary source between Dowland's publication and his own: the corresponding bar lines in Valerius's redaction easily show when parts are not of equal length, so possibly Valerius was himself responsible for cutting the final notes of the bass part. But, one way or the other, the harmonic consequences of the mistakes in both examples apparently went unnoticed by Valerius and may show that, although he was very capable of handling melodies, his skills in the area of polyphony were limited. Finally

it should be mentioned that the added bass parts are not strictly followed in the lute settings and have had little influence on their harmonic progressions. The same is true to an even greater extent for the cittern settings.

The image displays a musical score comparison between two versions of a song. It is organized into two systems, one for 'Dowland' and one for 'Valerius'. Each system contains a vocal line (treble clef) and a lute/bass line (bass clef). The lyrics are written below the notes. The Dowland system shows a vocal line with lyrics 'die, with thee a-gaine in swee-test sim-pa - thy.' and a corresponding lute line. The Valerius system shows a vocal line with lyrics 't'Voic le-vend' on-der d'aerd, Haer jonc-hey't hy niet spaert.' and a lute line. The lute line for Valerius includes the word 'spaen' at the beginning. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and bar lines.

Fig. 10. Comparison of a fragment from ‘Ach bitterhey!’ with ‘Come again’.

The Sources for the Lute Tablatures

Although several printed lute books and Dutch manuscripts that incorporate tunes used for Valerius’s songs can be traced, only two of them may possibly have been used as a source for the lute settings in the *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clanck*. Both are printed lute books, and both have the same author: *Pratum musicum* (Antwerp, 1584, reprinted 1600) and *Novum pratum musicum* (Antwerp, 1592) by Emanuel Adriaenssen. In only one instance the two settings are almost identical: Valerius’s song ‘Och hoort doch aen ô Heer’ (no. 28), on the tune of the ‘Pavane Medelyn’, was printed in *Pratum Musicum* (1584).⁴⁵ The eight bars at the start of this composition were not copied in the *Gedenck-clanck*, but apart from this the differences are extremely small (Figs. 11a and 11b).

⁴⁵ ‘Pavane à l’Englesa’, f.92r; this composition was not included in the revised reprint of *Pratum musicum* of 1600.

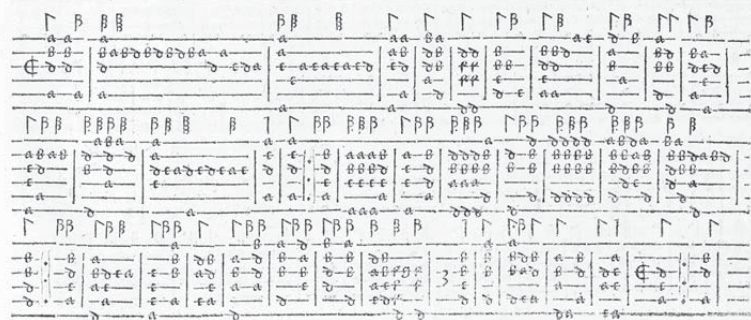
Fig. 11a, Emanuel Adriaenssen, *Pratum musicum*, f.92r.



Fig. 11b. Adriaen Valerius, *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck*, pp.99-100.

In the *Gedenck-clanck* the bar lines of the tablature were modified to make them correspond with those of the mensural notation. Such a correspondence is, apart from a few obvious mistakes, found in all the songs. As a matter of fact, this may very well have been the reason for Valerius to add the bar lines to the mensural notation in the first place. The repetition signs are also identical in the melodies and the tablatures, except for eight songs in which a repetition in the vocal part is written out with some ornamentation in the lute setting.⁴⁶ It is obvious that these cases represent the situation in which the settings were found in a consulted source, but I have not been able to trace any of those. Why this procedure was not followed in the two instances for which I did find the probable source (nos.12 and 28, where the first statement of the first sentence was left out and the second appearance was placed between repeat signs),⁴⁷ is not to be explained otherwise than that it was sometimes done and sometimes not. At all events, the lute settings, as well as those for cittern, are in all instances of exactly the same length as the voice parts.⁴⁸ Together with the corresponding bar lines and repetition signs, this cannot be a coincidence and it is obviously a decision of the editor who made the mensural notation and the tablatures of the same song congruent in this respect. For this reason, to make sure that the lute setting stayed in correspondence with the vocal notation, a bar was added in the 'Pavane Medelyn' (see Fig. 11, bar 15 in Valerius's version), as was a final chord. This also makes clear that, at least in this instance, the vocal notation had priority. Some slight differences between these two settings are due to mistakes in the *Gedenck-clanck* (in bars 18, 24, 31 and 38) on the one hand, and, on the other, apparently to notes deliberately left out (in bars 10, 11, 12, 13, 20, etc.) or added (in bars 37, 47 and 54) in the course of adaptation.

⁴⁶ Nos.17, 25, 31, 36 (in the version in diminution), 39, 55, 69 and 76.

⁴⁷ Discussed in Figs.12 and 11 respectively.

⁴⁸ The only exceptions to this rule are clearly mistakes, when, for example, a bar is left out.



Fig. 12a. The first three lines of 'Almande Prince' (Adriaenssen, *Pratum Musicum*), f.84^v; the bars that were used by Valerius are framed.

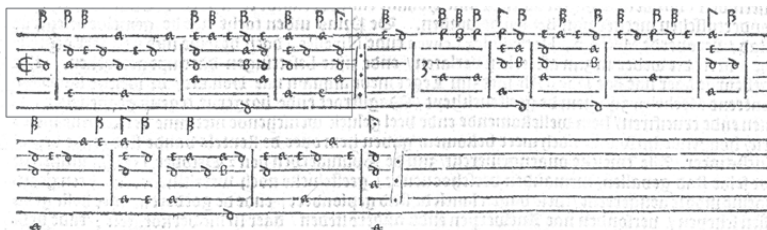


Fig. 12b. Valerius's lute tablature of 'Wilhelmus van Nassouwe', p.46.

Two other examples show that in some instances only some parts from the cognate settings were used, while other parts were apparently newly composed. This was possibly the case with the tune of 'Wilhelmus van Nassouwe' (no.12), of which for the lute setting only a small fragment was copied from Adriaenssen.⁴⁹ Because in the mensural notation in the *Gedenck-clanck* a ternary metre was introduced after the repetition sign, the rest of Adriaenssen's setting could not be used by Valerius (Figs. 12a and 12b).

The next example is more obvious. Valerius used the tune of Ferretti's 'Sei tanto gratiosa' for his song 'Men siet Gods kercke groeyen' (no.29). The shortening of the first note (and its repetition in the second sentence) is unique to Valerius's version, but for the rest of the mensural notation

49 'Almande Prince', *Pratum musicum* f.84v.

Valerius is the same as the version of Starter, which deviates slightly from Ferretti's original in the second part of the melody (Fig. 13a).⁵⁰

In the *Gedenck-clanck* the intabulation of Ferretti's original by Adriaenssen was used for the lute setting. The first chord was shortened to a crotchet and preceded by a rest to make it fit the vocal part, but because of the deviation in the second part, Adriaenssen's intabulation could no longer be used and was abandoned (Figs. 13b and 13c).

In adjusting the first note of the second phrase of the lute setting in the *Gedenck-clanck* a mistake was made. Instead of shortening the first chord of this phrase in Adriaenssen's intabulation (as was done at the very beginning), a rest and a crotchet were placed in front of this chord. From this point on the lute setting no longer matches the vocal notation. This was corrected at the end of this phrase, where the final note was shortened and a rest was omitted (Fig. 13d). Again it is clear that an effort was made to connect the vocal notation and the lute setting, and that the vocal notation took priority.

In the Thysius lute book two pieces are found that have a high degree of similarity with lute settings in the *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clanck*. One of them is almost identical with the version of Valerius (no.76), while the other one has some deviations (no.57). However, it is unlikely that Valerius consulted this manuscript, because for that he would have needed to be acquainted with its owner, which must be regarded as very unlikely. In theory it is even possible that some pieces in the Thysius lute book may have been based on Valerius, since the compiler of the lute book worked on it from around 1595 until 1646. Although the two cognates in question are linked to different phases of the handwriting in the MS, both seem to predate 1625.⁵¹ Therefore the concordances must have their origin in some now unknown common source.

⁵⁰ The mensural notation by Starter fits to the rhyme scheme .3a.5b.3a.5b.2C.2C.3d.2e.3e.2d, with masculine rhyme .2C.2C ('Want siet schoon kind, Mijn hart begin'), where Ferretti's text had a feminine rhyme ('Che chi te mira, *Che chi te mira*'). Although Starter's mensural notation was probably the source for Valerius's, this rhyme scheme was already common in the Netherlands from the time of Hoof's 'Voochdesse der ghemoeden' of 1611 (see <http://www.liederenbank.nl>).

⁵¹ *Het Luitboek van Thysius / The Thysius Lute Book, Facsimile edition of Leiden, Bibliotheca Thysiana 1666*, ed. J.W.J. Burgers and L.P. Grijp, with concordances by L.P. Grijp, S. Groot and J.H. Robinson (Leiden, 2009), pp.13-19.

Ferretti

Sei tan - to gra - ti - o - sa, ://: e tan - to bel -

Stem: Si tanto gratiosa.

Starter FL

1. Mijn soc - te Co - ning - in - ne, ghy syt de woonplaats van al myn ge-peyn -

Stem: Sei tanto gratioso.

Valerius

Men siet Gods ker - cke groe - yen, En schie - ten op als een ver - he - ven Ce -

8

la Sei tan - to gra - ti - o - sa, ://:

sen, Wat wil ick dan myn min - ne, noch po - gen voor u

der, Seer schoon en lief - lijk bloe - yen, En oock als een Lau -

14

e tan - to bel - la Che chi te mi - ra, ://: e non co - nose' a -

(ó myn Son) te veyn - sen? Want siet schoon kind, Myn hart be - gind, Soo heet soo sterck te

rier ver-groe - nen we - der, 'tGeen dat ver-stickt Was, werd ver-quickt, En heeft een moet ge -

21

mo - re O non è vi - uo ://: o non co - nose' a - mo - re

bran-den, Dat daer geen stel - pen, Noch raed toe is, Dan 't helpen u - wer han - den.

no - men, God on - sen Hee - re,, Wyckt nimmer 'tyn - der ee - re, Van - de vro - men.

Fig. 13a. Transcription of the melodie of 'Sei tanto gratiosa' by Ferretti, Starter and Valerius.

Fig. 13b. Intabulation of 'Sei tanto gratiosa' (Adriaenssen, *Novum Pratum Musicum*), f.13v; the bars that were used by Valerius are framed.

Fig. 13c. Valerius's lute tablature of 'Men siet Gods kercke groeyen', pp.102-103.

29. MEN SIET GODS KERCKE GROEYEN

Stem: Sei tanto gratioso.

The musical score is presented in four systems. Each system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a lute setting (treble and bass clefs). The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

System 1:
 Men siet Gods ker - cke groe - yen, En achie - ten op als

System 2:
 een ver - he - ven Ce - der, Seer schoon en lief - lijk bloe - yen; En oock als een Lau-

System 3:
 rier ver - groe - nen we - der; 'Geen dat verstickt Was, werd verquickt,, En heeft een moet ge-

System 4:
 no - men, God on - sen Hee - re,, Wyckt nimmer 'synder ee - re, Van de vro - men.

The lute setting includes a tablature on the left side of the first system, consisting of a grid of letters (a, b, c, d, e, f, g, a, b, c, d, e, f, g) representing fret positions on a six-stringed lute.

* This chord was added wrongly, as a result of which the vocal notation and the lute setting do not match in the next 8 bars.

** The letter e in the tablature was notated one line to high.

Fig. 13d. 'Men siet Gods kercke groeyen', transcription of vocal notation and lute setting.

Three out of four lute settings based on tunes by Gastoldi are actually intabulations of the polyphonic original, although some harmonies have been changed. These intabulations probably stem from a pre-existing source, for in two songs the bass line of the intabulation has deviations from the vocal bass as notated by Gastoldi (and also by Valerius). Likewise, the vocal bass, as given in the *Gedenck-clanck*, had no influence on the cittern settings, with song no.75 being the only exception. In this instance the cittern setting is also an intabulation of the vocal original, and possibly it also was taken from another source. Song no.72 is perhaps not an intabulation, for the crossing soprano parts of the vocal original are not present in the top voice of the lute setting. Both in the lute setting and in the cittern setting of no.72, the bass part of Gastoldi, as cited in the *Gedenck-clanck*, was completely ignored. Finally, it must be mentioned that the lute settings that are present in the Italian prints of the three-part *Balletti* by Gastoldi were not copied by Valerius. He probably did not know them, as they were not printed in the Antwerp editions by Phalèse which Valerius most probably consulted.

Apart from the examples mentioned above, the concordances as they have been discovered so far are never literal, so in these instances Valerius seems not to have borrowed directly from any of these sources, and a more complex relationship must underlie the cognate settings. In Appendix 2 an overview is presented of lute settings that incorporate tunes present in the *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clanck*.⁵² In the two cases where the settings are almost identical, the identified source is printed in bold; italics are used in the two cases in which Valerius used the source only partly.

The fact that the *Gedenck-clanck* once gives two variant readings (no.36) and twice a setting for three lutes (nos.67 and 74), also points to the borrowing of pre-existing lute sources, for this is obviously how the settings were found in the sources consulted, although none of them could be traced. Incidentally, four songs from the *Gedenck-clanck* also appear in the series *Airs de differents autheurs, mis en tablature de luth par Gabriel Battaille* (15 volumes, published in Paris between 1608 and 1632), but the differences in the notations of the melodies are so many that a direct relationship cannot be supposed.

⁵² With many thanks to John Robinson, who willingly made his list of concordances and cognates available to me.

The Cittern Settings

The cittern settings, unlike those for the lute, almost always follow the keys of the vocal notation. But like the lute settings, those for cittern do not always follow the exact melodic line of the vocal notation. Only 20% concur with the mensural notation with no or only a few deviations,⁵³ and no fewer than 80% deviate from the printed melody more often, resulting in conflicting notes between the voice part and the cittern setting.⁵⁴

As mentioned above, seven staff notation melodies in the *Gedenck-clanck* are almost identical with notation in Starter's *Friesche Lust-hof*. In these instances it is striking that, when small deviations occur, the cittern settings in many instances follow Starter's melody rather than Valerius's. Apart from the example mentioned above (Fig. 5d), this is also the case in nos.29, 49, 60 and 68. In nos.20 and 26 the mensural notation of Starter and Valerius is identical, and is followed literally by the cittern settings. Moreover, in no.26, 'O Nederland! let op u saeck', it happens that the first phrase (in Valerius's version placed between repeat marks in the mensural notation as well as the lute setting) is written out in the cittern setting, for it repeats this phrase with some ornamentations (Fig. 14). This is unique among the cittern settings in the *Gedenck-clanck* and may point to a version taken from another source.

Although the evidence is weak, it seems possible that Valerius had cittern settings of the tunes by Starter at his disposal. They may have been found in one or another of the lost printed cittern books (see note 26) or they may have circulated in manuscript. It is, however, not easy to explain why so many other cittern settings in the *Gedenck-clanck* also have notes that conflict with the mensural notation. This might again point to borrowing from sources that are not now extant, but in that case it is remarkable that almost all of them are in the same key as the mensural notation, which one would not expect if both versions were taken from different sources; compare the lute settings, which often are in different keys than the melody. However, the possibility that Valerius sometimes used a cittern (or lute) setting as the basis for his staff notation, adjusting the mensural notation to his taste but leaving the tablature untouched, cannot be excluded, even although earlier we saw instances of conflicting texts in which the tablature proved to be secondary. Another possibility is that someone else made the cittern settings, using the mensural notation

⁵³ Nos.1, 4, 8, 16, 18, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 37, 49, 50, 60, 64, 76.

⁵⁴ Nos.2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 21, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75.

collected by Valerius but (consciously or unconsciously) sometimes following another melodic variant.

26. O NEDERLAND! LET OP U SAECK

Stem: 's Nachts doen een blauw gestarde kleet, &c.

O Ne - der - land! let op - u saeck, De tyt en stont is
Op dat nu in - den hoeck niet raeck, V vry - heyt, die voor -

dacr, V
waer

ou - ders heb - ben dier ge - cocht, Met goet en bloet en le - ven:

Want sy werd nu gantsch en t'eenmael gesocht Tot niet te zyn ver - dre - ven.

* The source has a double flag as time indication, obviously a triple one was meant.

** The dot added.

Fig. 14. 'O Nederland! let op u saeck', no. 26, with a transcription of the cittern setting.

The quality of many of the cittern settings is mediocre.⁵⁵ With their strange cross-relations, their continuous mix of major and minor variants of the same chords and the many harmonically illogical inverted chords, they seem to correspond with other cittern music from the Low Countries; nevertheless, composers like Sebastian Vredeman and Frederik Viaera usually managed to realize a better result than Valerius. Although some of the cittern settings in the *Gedenck-clanck* are hardly or not at all inferior to the other cittern music of Valerius's time,⁵⁶ in other cases the result is plainly bad.

Key, Clef and Pitch

In the early 17th century the mensural system was in a state of transition: in principle the medieval modal system was still in use, but increasingly the music of the time was no longer behaving in conformity with the modal tradition. In mensural notation, the pitch at which a melody is presented depends on the combination of the mode and the chosen clef. The principles of 'chiave naturale' and 'chiavette' in polyphonic music, in which a soprano clef points to transposition by only a small interval (or no transposition at all) and a violin clef points to the necessity of transposition by a larger interval, bring solutions for only some of the instances in which there is a discrepancy between the keys of the melody and the lute setting.⁵⁷ The principles of *chiavette* (using violin clefs in the top voices) are reflected in the lute settings that are transposed down by a fourth or a fifth (Table 1). However, this is not always the case. Apart from indicating a transposition, using a violin clef sometimes also reflects the instrumental

⁵⁵ See also A. Komter-Kuipers, 'De muziek-historische betekenis van Valerius' *Gedenck-clanck*', in *Adriaen Valerius, Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck, herdrukt naar de oorspronkelijke uitgaaf van 1626*, ed. P.J. Meertens (Amsterdam 1942), pp.XLIII-LXVIII. At at p.LXIV the cittern settings are characterised as even worse than they are in reality. In her transcriptions, she has overlooked the fact that citterns do not always have semitones between each fret as lutes do, but also sometimes whole tones, in the case of so-called diatonic citterns.

⁵⁶ Some of the best cittern settings from the *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck* can be heard on the CDs *De Vrede van Munster* (Camerata Trajectina and Ensemble Oltremontano, Globe Records GLO 6048); three pieces on track 20. and *De muzikale wereld van Jan Steen/ The musical world of Jan Steen* (Camerata Trajectina, GLO 6040), tracks 34, 35, 37, 38). These recordings can be heard at <http://www.liederenbank.nl>.

⁵⁷ For more explanation on this subject, see: Patrizio Barbieri, 'Chiavette', in *Grove Music Online*.

origin of a tune, in which instances the lute settings are not necessarily transposed.⁵⁸

Table 1. Keys and clefs in relation to lute settings

(keys: lower case = minor key, upper case = major key)

Vocal part		Lute setting (tuning in G)
g (29)	violin clef (26)	c (19: nos.2, 10, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 33, 34, 36, 39, 40, 49, 54, 56, 58, 65)
		f (3: nos.21, 22, 76)
		g (4: nos.59, 61, 64, 67)
	soprano clef (3)	f (2, nos.48, 72)
		d (1, no.71)
G (20)	violin clef (12)	F (5, nos.5, 12, 35, 44, 50)
		C (6, nos.37, 46, 47, 52, 62, 75)
		G (1, no.74)
	soprano clef (8)	F (8, nos.8, 15, 27, 32, 38, 42, 43, 45)
d (13)	violin clef (12)	g (12, nos.1, 4, 7, 20, 31, 53, 55, 57, 60, 66, 68, 70)
	soprano clef (1)	G (1, no.6)
C (12)	violin clef (9)	F (9, nos.3, 9, 11, 14, 18, 41, 51, 63, 69)
	soprano clef (3)	B ^{''} (2, nos.13, 16)
		C (1, no.29)
F (2)	violin clef (2)	C (2, nos.17, 73)
Lute keys:	F (22); C (9); B ^{''} (2); G (1)	
	c (19); g (17); f (5); d (1)	

Yet, in essence the mensural notation is a relative system, in which the intervals between musical notes are given but not their absolute pitch.⁵⁹ Executing a melody, a singer should choose a pitch that fits with the compass of his or her own voice (and a group of singers needs to find a pitch that is suitable for the majority of them). A great many of the melodies in the *Gedenck-clanck* are actually rather high when looked at in absolute terms, but that is of no concern because of the possibility of transposition.

On the other hand tablature notation, as in the lute and cittern settings, is not well adapted for transposition. Different sizes of instruments,

⁵⁸ As is the case in nos.5, 21, 22, 50, 64, 67, 74 and 76 and possibly also in no.35. In all these instances there is only a small transposition or no transposition at all.

⁵⁹ In fact, absolute pitch could not even be measured at the time.

however, do in fact result in different keys when playing the same tablature. Yet, in fact the majority of the lute settings in the *Gedenck-clanck* have excellent pitches for the average compass of the human voice if performed on a lute in G. This is not a coincidence, for the G lute was very common and it is logical for lutenists to perform their settings in a pitch that is associated with the pitch in which they knew the tune.⁶⁰

It is remarkable that the cittern settings, on the other hand, are mainly in the same keys as the vocal notation (the tuning of the four-course French cittern, recommended by Valerius, is: a-g-d'-e'). The most suitable keys on this instrument are G major, G minor and C major. The only instances that seem to have forced transpositions for the cittern settings are the two tunes with mensural notations in F major (nos. 17 and 73), in which cases the cittern settings are in G major. In no. 69 the mensural notation is in C major, the lute setting in F major and the cittern setting in G major, all three having small deviations and conflicting notes with one another. This probably points again to the fact that both the melody and the lute and cittern settings were taken from pre-existing scores. Four other songs in which the keys of the cittern settings differ from the keys of the mensural notation will be discussed below; in these instances the cittern settings do actually have the same keys as the lute settings.

It is clear that the lute and the cittern settings are not suitable as accompaniment for the vocal execution of the songs. The main reason is that the mensural notation and the tablatures do not always use the same melodic variants, and for the cittern settings that they often use keys that are inconvenient for singers. As the melody is always cited in them, both the lute and the cittern settings are suitable for solo performance. This is in accordance with the earlier observation that these settings, especially those for lute, were probably found in lute sources, which normally contain solo music for the instrument.

Seven Different Lute and Cittern Settings

From our findings it has become clear that, assuming that Valerius indeed copied the majority of the lute settings from other sources, nearly all of these seem to have been lost in past ages. Among the last 20 songs, seven

⁶⁰ Lutenists not only chose a key that corresponded with the pitch in which a tune was commonly sung, but in addition preferred keys with as many open courses as possible. On a seven-course lute in G (tuned F-G-c-f-a-d'-g') for this reason the best results are to be realised in F major, C major, C minor, G major, G minor, D minor, A minor and, to a lesser extent, B flat major and F minor. These are also the keys that are present in Valerius's lute settings (see table 1).

lute settings are found that differ from all the others, and that at the same time can be said to be related (Table 2). As we saw before, almost all the songs included in Valerius's book show different keys for the notation of the vocal part and the accompanying lute part, obviously representing the keys as found in Valerius's sources. Only four songs in the *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck* are in the same key for both the tune and the lute setting. Three of them are among this group of seven (in the other instance no.29, 'Men siet Gods kercke groeyen', the explanation simply lies in the fact that Valerius's sources, that can be traced for both the voice and the lute setting, had identical keys). With the other four songs in this group, the keys of the lute and the cittern settings are identical, while the notation of the melody is in a different key. This is remarkable because in these instances the key of the cittern setting does not correspond with that of the melody, as is usually the case. Apart from these examples, this incongruity only occurs in the songs 'Wie dat sich selfs verheft te met' (no.17), 'Voorwaer 'tis prys'lyck' (no.69) and 'De Heer in zynen Throon' (no.73), as discussed above.

Table 2. Relationships in the keys of seven melodies, with those of the accompanying lute and cittern settings, assuming both lute and cittern tuned in G.

(key: lower case = minor key, upper case = major key)

no. title	melody	lute	cittern
59 G'lyck 't eel gesteent	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
61 Sullen ons verbluffen dees'	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
64 Merck toch hoe sterck	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
66 Merck toch! wat een duyster wolcke	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
68 Heer! als ick denck aen 't goet	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
70 Siet Christen menschen	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
75 Och dat de mensch den Heer gehoorsaem waer altyt	<i>G</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>C</i>

The most important factor that unites this group of seven, apart from the corresponding keys for the lute and the cittern settings, is the fact that the melody, as notated by Valerius in the vocal parts, is followed far more accurately in the lute and cittern parts than in most of the other pieces. In the Table 2, these seven songs are presented with the keys of the melody, the lute and the cittern settings. It surely is no coincidence that these songs, for which Valerius probably could not find a ready-made lute setting, are at the end of the volume, for in these instances he had less time for his search for a proper source.

As an example of the coherence between the notation of the melody and the lute and cittern settings within the abovementioned group, the setting of 'Merck toch hoe sterck' (no.64) can be used (Fig. 15).

The Final Song and the 'errata'

The last song of the *Gedenck-clanck* immediately follows the penultimate one; in between, no new events of the Dutch troubles are presented, nor is it accompanied by a poem (not set to music) or by aphorisms. This is unique in the *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clanck*, but this last song also differs from the others in its character. It is not a reflection on preceding events, but in fact a conclusion to the whole history: as the words of the canon on the title-page ask that the book be read and what happened to the country understood,⁶¹ this song asks that it all be taken seriously and the hand of God seen in this history.⁶² The song text is clearly in the style of Valerius and this confirms the assumption that he had finished his *Gedenck-clanck* before he died. By the way, in the second verse the voice and the lute are mentioned: 'And the sound of my lute, and the warbling of my throat, prepared to his service, may sound everywhere so that everyone will hear it'.⁶³ No mention is made of the cittern in this song.

⁶¹ See Fig.1 (translation of the song text: 'Take me in your hand, hear in brief declared all that has happened to us in this country').

⁶² Valerius, *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clanck*, p.292: the song starts with the words 'Gy volckeren hoor aen! Al gelyck,, Arm en ryck,, En laet heden, Waer gy gaet,, Ofte staet,, Myne reden U toch ter herten gaen' (Thou nations hear, hear! All alike, poor and rich, and let now, where ever you go, or stand, my speech go to the heart), the last strophe starts with 'O aldergrootste goet! Daerom wy,, slechts niet bly,, moeten wesen: Maer daer d'Heer,, Van moet seer,, zijn gepresen, Met danckbaerlyck gemoet' (O most highly good! Therefore we must not only be happy, but for this the Lord must also be praised with a thankful mind).

⁶³ Valerius, *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clanck*, p.292: 'En't geluyt,, van myn Luyt, En't gequeel,, van myn keel, Tot zijnen dienst bereyt, Doen klincken over al Dat't yder hooren sal'.

64. MERCK TOCH HOE STERCK

Stem: Comedianten dans.

Merck,, toch hoe sterck,, Nu int werck,, sich al steld!
Siet hoe hy slaeft,, graeft,, en draeft met ge-weld!

The score consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The piano accompaniment is in two staves (treble and bass clefs) with a key signature of one flat. The music is in 4/4 time. The vocal line has a melody that is mostly eighth and quarter notes. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a more active bass line in the left hand.

Die 'tal-len ty,, Soo ons vry - heyt heeft be - stre - den:
Om on - se goet,, En ons bloet,, En on - se ste - den,

This system continues the musical score. The vocal line and piano accompaniment follow the same format as the previous system. The vocal line has a melody that is mostly eighth and quarter notes. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a more active bass line in the left hand.

Hoor de Spaen - sche trom - mels slaen! Hoor Ma-raens trom -
Siet hoe komt hy trec - ken aen! Ber - gen te be -

This system continues the musical score. The vocal line and piano accompaniment follow the same format as the previous systems. The vocal line has a melody that is mostly eighth and quarter notes. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a more active bass line in the left hand.

pet - ten! ten. Berg op Zoom,, Hout u vroom,,
 set - ten. Laet 'sLands boom,, End' syn stroom,,

Stut de Spaen - sche scha - ren;
 Trouw' - lyck toch be - wa - ren.

Fig. 15. Transcription of the melody, the lute and the cittern setting in modern notation of 'Merck toch hoe sterck', no. 64.

After this last song a final prayer is presented, and lastly two pages with 'errata' conclude the *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck*. In the discussion of the quality of the music in the *Gedenck-clanck*, these errata should not be neglected. The first column presents mistakes in the text. The second and third column concern the tablatures, presenting corrections of 17 errors and closing with the remark: 'The other little mistakes in letters and wrongly placed rhythm signs, the benevolent reader will easily be able to correct'.⁶⁴ The corrected errors vary from wrong duration signs and letters printed on the wrong line of the tablature, to forgotten measures. The fourth and last column deals with the mensural notation, presenting

⁶⁴ Valerius, *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck*, pp.[297-298]: 'De verdere weynige, letter-fauten ende mis-stellingen van sommige distinctien, sal den goet-willigen Leser lichtelijck kunnen beteren'.

corrections of 13 errors, varying from wrong durations to forgotten notes and repetition signs. Obviously a corrector compared the printed results with the manuscript, but this could not prevent many other mistakes in the *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clanck*, mainly in the tablatures.

Conclusion

The music in the *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clanck* is meant in the first place as a vehicle for Valerius's political message, as is stated in the preface by I. Valerius:

[this book] serves solely for pious and patriotic entertainment of the heart, to which purpose songs and poems have also been added to the prose, fitting to the relevant passages, and thereto [one finds] of every song the tablature for lute and cittern; so that by singing or playing (on different melodies), as well as by the poems, the sadness (raised by the story) might be decreased and the joy (obtained in the same way) increased.⁶⁵

The songs could be sung, or they could be played on the lute or on the cittern. The lute and cittern settings seem to be intended as independent compositions on the same tunes.

Only in a few instances are we able to reconstruct Valerius's course of action in editing his songs, and it is therefore difficult to tell to what extent these examples are illustrative of the entire musical content of the *Gedenck-clanck*. It appears that Valerius took at least some of the musical texts in his *Gedenck-clanck* from other sources, and possibly this was the case in many instances. He added bar lines and used repeat signs so that the mensural notation and the tablatures of the same song are made to correspond. In the mensural notation sometimes accidentals and melodic or rhythmic variants were added, obviously according to the way Valerius thought the tune should go. In the lute and cittern settings, many little melodic variants deviating from the vocal parts are present, but at least in two instances, in 'Wilhelmus van Nassouwe' and 'Sei tanto gratiosa', a larger deviation was corrected by newly composed bars for the lute.

⁶⁵ Valerius, *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clanck*, f.(^o) iij^v: '[...] also de selve niet anders is dienende als totter vrome, ende Vaderlants-lief-hebbende herten vermakinge; tot welcken eynde by de prose, oock liedkens en dichten gevoegt syn, op de verhaelde materie, ende stoffe passende, mitsgaders de Tablatuyr van elck liet op Luyt ende Cyter; op dat het gesang ofte spel, (bestaende in verscheydene voysen ofte stemmen) als oock door het gedicht, de droefheyt, (uyt het lesen der prose ontfangen) gemindert; ende den blyschap (uyt de selve verkregen) gemeedert mochte werden'.

In some instances a repetition in the vocal part is written out in the lute setting and provided with some ornamentation; the same happens once in a cittern setting. In one case two different lute versions were given to the same melody, one in diminution, and twice a setting for three lutes was added; again, these probably represent the way these settings were found in Valerius's sources. In those cases where no usable version could be found at the time, or only parts of a source were usable, Valerius himself had to provide settings in whole or in part. Nothing is known about his musical skills (in contrast to what is known about his activities as a poet) and it is possible that he needed the assistance of some musical acquaintance. Yet it must be admitted, whether Valerius took the lute and cittern settings from other sources, wrote them himself or was helped by an assistant, a number of them are no better than mediocre. Possibly the best elements of the lute and cittern settings are borrowed materials, while the other parts were newly composed.

Valerius's songs, on the other hand, are rather good poems, in the sense that they almost always fit perfectly on the melodies they were written for. Also, the redaction of the song melodies in the *Gedenck-clanck* leaves little to be desired. Valerius added bar lines (not yet common in those days) adequately in correspondence to the metre, in which respect his notations strike us as modern and show only a very few mistakes.

Seven songs form a coherent group in the fact that the lute and the cittern settings are in the same key and at the same time follow the melody of the mensural notation far more accurately than in most of the other instances. It seems likely that in these songs a lute and cittern setting had to be provided by someone other than Valerius or his assistant; possibly his heirs, who published the book, found the manuscript without settings of these songs and had to provide them themselves.

With its musical content, the *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck* of Adriaen Valerius is indeed a *geuzenliedboek*, enlarged to extreme luxury proportions. In spite of all his efforts, the *Gedenck-clanck* attracted only little if any interest in its own time: the perfect condition of extant copies (presumably due to the fact they remained unread) and the absence of reprints point to this conclusion. Moreover, references to Valerius's song texts are not to be found in later sources of the period.

Coda: the revival of the *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clanck* in the 19th century

Due to the excellent state of the extant copies, the *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clanck* became a collector's item in the course of the 19th century.⁶⁶ In 1871 the first edition of some of the melodies from the *Gedenck-clanck* was published,⁶⁷ including the 'Wilhelmus', which was later to become the Dutch national anthem and which is sung nowadays in the version of the *Gedenck-clanck*. Apparently, to bring these songs to popularity in its own country a foreign advocate was needed: a cycle for baritone, choir and orchestra under the name *Sechs Altniederländische Volkslieder* (1877) from the Viennese composer Eduard Kremser, in which some songs from the *Gedenck-clanck* (translated into German) were incorporated, made the songs popular in the Netherlands.⁶⁸

From the last decades of the 19th century up to the 1960s and early 1970s songs from the *Gedenck-clanck* were included in the songbooks that were used in schools. Many people knew some of these songs by heart, the 'Wilhelmus' and 'Merck toch hoe sterck' being the most popular. Other songs were incorporated in the repertoire of the Dutch Protestant church, like 'Heere! keere van ons af', 'Com nu met sang' and 'Wilt heden nu treden'. The tune of the latter even became popular in America, were it

⁶⁶ As far as is known 37 copies remain in existence. According to STCN: Amsterdam, UB (3 copies); Amsterdam, Toonkunstcollection; Den Haag, KB (5 copies); Den Haag, NMI; Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek; Leiden, UB (2 copies); London, British Library (4 copies); Paris, Fondation Custodia; Utrecht, UB; according to RISM: Antwerpen, Stadsarchief; Brussel, Koninklijk Conservatorium; Gent, Rijksuniversiteit; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek; Münster, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek; Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek; København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek; Chicago, IL, Newberry Library; Cambridge, MA, Harvard University; New York, NY, New York Public Library; Rochester, NY, Sibley Music Library; San Marino, CA, Henry E. Huntington Library & Art Gallery; Washington, DC, Library of Congress; Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library; according to picarta: Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; Leeuwarden, TRESOAR; Maastricht, Sociaal Historisch Centrum Limburg; Middelburg, Zeeuwse Bibliotheek (2 examples).

⁶⁷ A.D. Loman, *Oud-Nederlandse Liederen Uit den 'Nederlandtschen Gedenck-clanck' van Adrianus Valerius (1626)* (Utrecht, 1871). A second revised edition was issued in Amsterdam 1893 (reprinted 1931).

⁶⁸ L.P. Grijp, 'Nationale hymnen in het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden I, 1813-1939', in *Nationale hymnen: Het Wilhelmus en zijn burens*, ed. L.P. Grijp (Amsterdam, 1998), pp.44-73, at p.65.

was used for the song 'We gather together', often sung on Thanksgiving Day.

In 1942, P.J. Meertens issued a new edition of the *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clanck*, with introductions on the life and work of Valerius by himself, on the historical content by N.B. Tenhaaf, and on the musical content by A. Komter-Kuipers.⁶⁹ The text of the *Gedenck-clanck* was annotated and printed in modern type, the melodies were given in facsimile and the tablatures were omitted. In 1968 a facsimile edition was published in the Netherlands, in the series 'Herleefd Verleden',⁷⁰ and in 1974 another facsimile was published in the United States.⁷¹ In neither facsimile edition is it mentioned which original copy was used. In the last decades of the 20th century singing at school went out of fashion, and with the secularisation of Dutch society, most younger people nowadays are no longer aware of the songs from the *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-clanck*. Yet up to the present day it has proved a very valuable source for musicologists, musicians and cultural historians in their exploration of 17th-century Dutch song culture.

⁶⁹ N.V. Wereldbibliotheek (Amsterdam, 1942, reprinted in 1943 and 1947).

⁷⁰ Facsimile Uitgaven Nederland N.V. (Amsterdam, 1968).

⁷¹ Monuments of Music and Music Literature in Facsimile, Second Series: Music Literature lxiii (New York, 1974).

Appendix 1

Songs in the *Nederlandsche Gedenck-clanck*, with parts for voice, lute and cittern, unless otherwise stated, and their tune directions. For more information, see: <http://www.liederenbank.nl>

No.	Page	Incipit	Tune indication above the song (the category in the ‘Tafel van de Stemmen ofte Voysen’)
1.	16	Hoe groot (ô Heer)	Sal ick noch langer met heete tranen, &c. (Volte.) (<i>Nederlandsche Stemmen</i> . Sal ick noch langer met heete tranen)
2.	20	Bitter droeve klachten	Ballet La durette. (<i>Baletten</i> .)
3.	22	Syt nu verblijt	Een Fransche Bransle. (<i>Branslen</i>)
4.	25	Al uwe boos’ aenslagen	Studenten Dans. (<i>Nederlandsche Stemmen</i> . Studenten dans)
5.	26	Hoe loopet volc dus oneenig!	Van een Fransche Courante. (<i>Fransche Couranten</i> .)
6.	30	Men brand, men blaecht	Engelsche Daphne. (<i>Engelsche stemmen</i> . Engelsche daphne)
7.	33	Laet sang en spel	Op de Engelsche Foulle. Of: Walsch Wallinneken. (<i>Engelsche stemmen</i> . Engelsche foulle, of: Walsch Waelinneken)
8.	35	O Heer wat hebben wy nu hier	La Morisque. (<i>Fransche voisen</i> . La Morisque)
9.	37	Com nu met sang	Bransle Guinée. (<i>Branslen</i>)
10.	40	De Vogel wert gelockt gefluyt	La Dolphinée. (<i>Fransche voisen</i> . La Dolphinee)
11.	42	Geen dingen syn so Geringe	La Vallette. (<i>Fransche voisen</i> . La Vallette)
12.	46	Wilhelmus van Nassouwe	Alst begint. (<i>Nederlandsche Stemmen</i> . Wilhelmus van Nassouwe)
13.	50	T’geween, ‘tgehuyt, ‘tgekryt	Si ceste malheureuse bande. (<i>Fransche voisen</i> . Si ceste malheureuse bande)
14.	52	Die vast’lyck op den Heer	Fransche Courante. (<i>Fransche Couranten</i> .)
15.	54	Heere! keere van ons af	Engels Nou, nou. (<i>Engelsche stemmen</i> . Nou, nou)
16.	58	Maximilianus de Bossu	[ontbreekt] (<i>Nederlandsche Stemmen</i> . Maximilianus de Bossu)

17. 62 Wie dat sich selfs verheft te met
Lapperken)
Op 't Engels Lapperken. (*Engelsche stemmen*. Cobbeler, of: het Engelsch
[ontbreekt] (*Nederlandsche Stemmen*. Hoort allegaer in't openbaer)
18. 65 Hoort allegaer
Engels Farwel, met den Bas daer by gestelt. (*Engelsche stemmen*. Farwel,
19. 68 Almachtig God!
of: Wanneer ick slaep, metten Bas) for Superius and Bassus
20. 70 Een monster van een valsch gelaet
Ghy die my met u braef gelaet; &c. (*Nederlandsche Stemmen*. Ghy die my
met u braef gelaet)
21. 74 Almande Guerre, guerre gay. (*Almanden*. Guerre Guerre gay)
Lapperken)
22. 78 Een Fransche ballet. (*Baletten*.
Van een Fransch ballet. (*Baletten*.
23. 80 God siet neder uyt zijn Hemel
Soet soet Robbertigen. (*Engelsche stemmen*. Soet Robbert)
24. 83 Prijst God ons aller Heer
Quand la bergere. (*Fransche voisen*. Quand la Bergere)
25. 86 Weest nu verblyt
's Nachts doen een blauw gestarde kleet, &c. (*Nederlandsche Stemmen*.
26. 90 O Nederland! let op u saeck
Snachts doen een blaau gestarde kleet)
Courante Si cest pour mon pucelage. (*Fransche Couranten*. Si cest pour
mon pucelage)
27. 94 Foey Don Jan!
Pavane Medelyn. (*Pavanen*. Medelyn)
28. 98 Och hoort doch aen ô Heer!
Sei tanto gratioso. (*Italiaensche stemmen*. Sei tanto gratioso)
29. 103 Men siet Gods kercke groeyen
La Romanette. (*Fransche voisen*. La Romanette)
30. 108 Wat baed u de voochdy der Landen
Engels Bara vautres drom. Of: Phoebus is lang over zee. (*Engelsche
stemmen*. Bara vautres drom)
31. 110 Ick och arm!
Almande Prins de Parma. (*Almanden*. Prins du Parma)
32. 114 Een Coning, Prins, of Heere
Courante durette. (*Fransche Couranten*. Durette)
33. 118 Al wat den mensch bejagent
Paszemeze d' Anvers. (*Paszemeze d' Anvers*.)
34. 122 Hoogmoedig geest
Engels Oud Ioan metten Bas. (*Engelsche stemmen*. Out Ioan, met den
35. 126 T quaet groeyt in groot getal
Bas) [for [Superius] and Bassus]
36. 132 Stort tranen uyt
Engelsche Fortuyn. (*Engelsche stemmen*. Fortuyn) with two versions for
lute, the second indicated with 'Dese gediminueet'

37. 136 Als God syn volck besoeckt
 38. 142 O Heer; die daer des Hemels tente spreyt
 39. 147 Ghij die tot een Opper-Held
 40. 150 Ick meyn g'u veeren
 41. 154 Begeertens lust baert altyt quaet
 42. 157 Geluckig is het Land
 43. 160 Al woud' ick,, Hoe soud' ick
 44. 164 Geluckig is hy die leert sterven
 45. 166 Ach bitterhey!
 46. 170 Wilt heden Nu treden
 47. 174 O Mensch! denckt dat ghy toch Syt
 48. 180 Maraen, hoe moogt gy Spies
 49. 184 De Heere geeft ons groote stof
 50. 189 Siet toch Heer
 51. 191 T' Spaensche gedrocht
 52. 194 Den mensche, Godes handen werck
 53. 198 Batavia ghy syt de Bruyd
 54. 202 O Heemskereck! noyt u kloecke daet
- Pavane Philippi met den Bas. (*Pavanen. Philippi metten Bas*) for Superius and Bassus
 Gallarde Suit Margriet. (*Engelsche stemmen. Gallirt suit Margrit*)
 La Boree. (*Fransche voisen. La Borée*)
 d'Engelsche klokke dans. (*Engelsche stemmen. The Clocke dauns*)
 Het was een ryck mans burgers zoon, &c. (*Nederlandsche Stemmen. Het was een ryck mans borgers zoon*)
 Op de Engelsche Min. Of: Noch leef ick in verdriet, &c. (*Engelsche stemmen. d'Engelsche min, of: Noch leef ick int verdriet*)
 Gaillarde Belle. (*Fransche voisen. Gaillarde Belle*)
 Isser yemant uyt Oost-Indien gekomen. Oft: Est ce le grand Dieu des alarmes, &c. (*Fransche voisen. Est ce le grand Dieu des Alarmes*)
 Engels Com again, metten Bas: Ende is een tweespraeck tusschen Jan ende Pieter. (*Engelsche stemmen. Com again metten Bas*)
 for [Superius] and Bassus
 Hey wilder dan wild. (*Nederlandsche Stemmen. Hey! wilder dan wilt*)
 La Vignonne. (*Fransche voisen. La Vignonne met den Bas*) for Superius and Bassus
 Almande Nonette, Of: Une Jeusne fillette. (*Almanden. Nonnette/Fransche voisen. Une jeusne fillette*)
 Kits Almande. (*Almanden. Kits*)
 Fransche Gaillarde. (*Fransche voisen. Fransche Gaillarde*)
 Windeken daer het bosch van drilt. (*Nederlandsche Stemmen. Windeken daer het bosch van drilt*)
 L'orangée. (*Fransche voisen. L'orangée*)
 Engels Woddecot. Ofte: Datmen eens van drincken spraek. (*Engelsche stemmen. Woddecod*)
 Ballet. (*Baletten.*)

55. 206 Ay hoor eens buerman lieve kaer
tusschen A ende B. (*Engelsche stemmen*. Malsims metten Bas)
for Superius and Bassus
56. 212 Verstandige, Handige, Dappere voochden
57. 216 Myn Ziele treur!
Engels Prins Daphne. (*Engelsche stemmen*. Prins daphne)
Pavane Lachrime met den Bas. (*Pavanen*. Lachrimé, metten Bas) for
Superius and Bassus
58. 222 Waer damen sich al keerd of wend
Pots hondert duytsent slapperment. (*Almanden*. Pekelharing, of Pots
hondert/*Nederlandsche Stemmen*. Pots hondert duy'sent, of: Almande
Pekelharing)
59. 225 G'lyck 't eel gesteent
O Heere! geeft so lange leeft, &c. (*Nederlandsche Stemmen*. O Heere
geeft,, soo lange leeft)
60. 228 Landsaten altermael
Com sheep Herders deck jour heds, &c. (*Engelsche stemmen*. Com
shepherders.)
61. 234 Sullen ons verbluffen dees'
Schoonste Nimphe van het Wout. Of: Quand ce beau printemps je voy,
&c. (*Fransche voisen*. Quand ce beau printemps je voy/*Nederlandsche
Stemmen*. Schoonste Nimphe van het Wout.)
62. 238 Ghly heerscher van het Spaensche
63. 242 Den Hoeder Israel
64. 247 Merck,, toch hoe sterck
65. 250 Wanneer een heerschend man
66. 254 Merck toch! wat een duyster wolcke
Courante Serbande. (*Fransche Couranten*. Serbande)
La piquarde. (Fransche voisen. La piquarde)
Comedianten dans. (*Nederlandsche Stemmen*. Comedianten dans.)
Courante Seigneur. (*Fransche Couranten*. Seignoor)
Gaillarde Maurice. Of: Waer mach myn herteken wesen. (*Fransche
voisen*. Gaillarde Maurice)
67. 258 Als Christi Bruyd was in den nood
68. 262 Heer! as ick denck aen't goet
Pavane d'Espagne. (*Pavanen*. d'Esaigne [sic]) with 3 lute parts: STB
Ballet. Questa dolce Sirena. (*Italiaensche stemmen*. Questa dolce Sirena)
for Superius and Bassus
69. 266 Voorwaer 'tis prys'lyck
70. 270 Siet Christen menschen!
Mrs. Mary Hofmans Almand. (*Almanden*. Mary Hofmans)
Courante Françoysse. Of O Angenietje, &c. (*Fransche Couranten*. O
Angenietje)

71. 274 Wat heeft God wond're daden
 72. 278 Des Hemels licht
 73. 282 De Heer in zynen Throon
 74. 286 T'is een groot en heerlijc goet
 75. 290 Och dat de mensch
 76. 292 Gy volekeren hoor aen!

Chi guerregiar desia, &c. (*Italiaensche stemmen*. Chi guerregiar desia) for Superius and Bassus
 Sonatemi un balletto, &c. (*Italiaensche stemmen*. Sonatemi un balletto) for Superius and Bassus
 Fransche Courante. Of: De Mey die komt ons by,, seer bly. (*Fransche Couranten*. De Mey die komt ons by)
 Almande Monsieur. (*Almanden*. Monsieur) with 3 lute parts: STB
 Dimmi ch'è del mio core. (*Italiaensche stemmen*. Dimmi ch'è del mio core) for Superius, Tweede Superius and Bassus
 Ballet Marignault. (*Balletten*. Marignault)

Appendix 2

Concordances and cognates of lute sources printed before 1625 and manuscripts with a Dutch connection, written before *c.*1625. (Cognates that are printed bold are almost identical, cognates that are printed in italics are only partly used).

No.	<i>Tune indication by Valerius</i>	<i>Source of concordance</i>	<i>Title</i>
2.	Ballet La durette. (<i>Baletten.</i>)	Vallet SM1615, p.34	Ballet A.9.
3.	Een Fransche Bransle. (<i>Branslen</i>)	NL-Lu 1666, f.465v	Brande
4.	Studenten Dans. (<i>Nederlandsche Stennen.</i> Studenten dans)	NL-Lu 1666, f.413r i NL-Lu 1666, f.413r ii	Den Studenten dans [different tune] [untitled, different tune]
5.	Van een Fransche Courante. (<i>Fransche Couranten.</i>)	Besard TH1603, f.82v Hove DM1612, f.62v Fuhrmann TG1615, p.127 D-Hbusch, f.5v NL-Lu 1666, f.375v	Vous me juries Bergere Courante / Incertus Autor Sublementum. Courante [untitled]
7.	Op de Engelsche Foulle. Of: Walsch Wallinneken. (<i>Engelsche stennen</i>)	NL-Lu 1666, f.396r i NL-Lu 1666, f.396r ii	La Foulle d'Engleterre [different tune] La Foulle d'Engleterre [different tune]
8.	La Morisque. (<i>Fransche voisen.</i>)	Ballard PL1611, p.78 Vallet SM1615, p.84	Les Angeliques Dixiesme Destin La Moresque
9.	Bransle Guinée. (<i>Branslen</i>)	Becchi LP1568, p.76 NL-Lu 1666, f.374v-375r	Une Bergere [untitled]

- NL-Lu 1666, f.375r i
 NL-Lu 1666, f.375r ii
 Vallet SM1615, p.84
10. La Dolphinée. (*Fransche voisen.*)
 11. La Vallette. (*Fransche voisen.*)
 Ballard DL1614, p.21-22
 D-B Hove 1, ff.41v-42
 Vallet SM1616, p.16
12. Alst begint. (*Nederlandsche Stemmen.* Wilhelmus van Nassouwe)
Adriaenssen PM1584, f.84v
 Fuhrmann TG1615, p.40
 Vallet SM1616, p.26-27
 EIRE-Dtc 410/I, p.217
 EIRE-Dtc 410/I, p.220
 EIRE-Dtc 410/I, p.220-221
 D-B Hove 1, f.47v
 NL-Lu 1666, ff.351v-352r
 NL-Lu 1666, f.352r i
 NL-Lu 1666, f.352r ii
 NL-Lu 1666, f.352v i
 NL-Lu 1666, f.352v ii
 NL-Lu 1666, f.352v iii
 14. Fransche Courante. (*Fransche Couranten.*)
 Besard TH1603, f.53v
 Fuhrmann TG1615, p.124
15. Engels Nou, nou. (*Engelsche stemmen.*)
 D-Hs ND VI 3238 pp.144-5
 D-B N 479, ff.60v-62r
- La Bergere
 [untitled]
 La Dauphine
 La Valette cinquiesme
 Courante / La Vollette
 La Vallette
Almande Prince
 Subplementum folii. E.M.A.
 Bataille [bars 50-67]
 untitled [first 3 bars]
 Almande Prince
 untitled
 Wilhelmus
 [untitled]
 Wilhelmus van Nassouwe[n]
 [untitled]
 [untitled]
 [untitled]
 [untitled]
 Courante
 Curant
 Frogge Galliard
 Frog galiard / 2 deel

- NL-Lu 1666, f.28v Frayge Gaillarde
 NL-Lu BPL 2792, f.19r Gaillard
17. Op 't Engels Lapperken. (*Engelsche stemmen*. Cobbele, of: het Engelsch Lapperken)
 NL-Lu 1666, f.384v [untitled]
 NL-Lu 1666, f.393r Het was een Engelsch boerken
19. Engels Farwel. (*Engelsche stemmen*. Farwel, of: Wanneer ick slaep, metten Bas)
 Vallet SM1616, p.9 Slaep soete slaep
 NL-Lu 1666, f.402v Waneer ik slaep
23. Van een Fransch ballet. (*Baletten*.)
 Vallet SM1616, pp.40-41 Allon aux noces
24. Soet soet Robbertgen. (*Engelsche stemmen*.)
 Hove FC1601, f.107v Soet Robert
 Besard TH1603, f.134r Allemande
 Robinson SM1603, ff.20v-21r My Lord Willobies welcome home
 Vallet SM1615, p.47-48 Soet Robbert A.9.
 NL-Lu 1666, f.389r i Soet, Soet Robertgen
 NL-Lu 1666, f.389r ii Soet, Soet Robertgen
25. Quand la bergere. (*Fransche voisen*.)
 NL-Lu 1666, f.386r Quant la bergere
28. Pavane Medelyn. (*Pavanen*.)
Adriaenssen 1584, f.92
 Waissel TA1591, f.L2v 2. Padoana
 NL-Lu 1666, f.142v Pavane Maechdelijn [different tune]
 NL-Lu 1666, ff.192r-193r Le Medly
29. Sei tanto gratioso. (*Italiaensche stemmen*.)
Adriaenssen NPM1592, ff.13v-14r Sei tanto gratiosa
31. Engels Bara vastres drom. Of: Phoebus is lang over zee. (*Engelsche stemmen*. Bara vostres drom)
 Vallet SM1615, p.93 Chancou angloise

32. Almande Prins de Parma. (*Almanden*.)
 Adriaenssen NPM1592, f.81r
 Denss FO1594, f.89r
 Adriaenssen PM1600, f.33v
 NL-Lu 1666, f.475r i
 NL-Lu 1666, f.475r ii
 NL-Lu 1666, f.475v i
 NL-Lu 1666, f.475v ii
 33. Courante durette. (*Fransche Couranten*.)
 Ballard PL1611, [p.49]
 Vallet SM1615, p.82
 D-Hs ND VI 3238, p.84
 34. Paszemeze d'Anvers. (*Paszemeze*.)
 NL-Lu 1666, f.136r i
 NL-Lu 1666, f.136r ii
 36. Engelsche Fortuyn. (*Engelsche stemmen*.) [with two versions for lute, the second indicated with 'Dese gediminueert']
 Barley NB1596, sig. F3r-F3v
 Hove FC1601, f.106v
 Vallet SM1616, p.8
 D-Hbusch, ff.18v-21r
 D-B Hove I, ff.158v-160r
 D-Hs ND VI 3238, pp.20-24
 NL-Lu 1666, f.387r i
 NL-Lu 1666, f.387r ii
 NL-Lu 1666, f.387v i
 NL-Lu 1666, f.387v ii
 NL-Lu 1666, f.388v i
 NL-Lu 1666, f.388v ii
 Almande de son Altezze
 Allemand / Variatio praecedentis
 Piacer gioia e diletto
 Almande Prince Parma
 [untitled] Mr. Marten [Persijn]
 [untitled] Mr David [Padbrué]
 [untitled]
 Courante de la Reyne, Sixiesme
 La durette
 Courante
 Passomezo D'Anvers
 [untitled]
 Fortune by I.D.
 Fortuna Englesae
 Fortune Angloise
 Fortuna di Joachimo van den Hove
 Fortuna Anglese
 [untitled]
 d'Ingelsche Fortune
 [untitled]
 Fortune J. Dowlande
 [untitled]
 Lamentation du Duc de Guise
 [untitled]

37. Pavane Philippi. (*Pavanen*.)
 NL-Lu 1666, f.388v iii [untitled]
 Hove FC1601, ff.92r-92v Pavana Pietro Filippi
 EIRE-Dic 410/I, p.254-255 Pavana del Petro Philippe.
38. Gallarde Suit Margriet. (*Engelsche stemmen*. Gallirt suit Margrit)
 Waissel TA1591, no 116 cf. Gailliarde
 Hove DM1612, f.66r Gailliarde Englese
 Vallet SM1615, p.35 Gailliarde Angloise A.9.
39. La Boree. (*Fransche voisen*.)
 Fuhrmann TG1615, pp.115 & 144 La Bourree
 Vallet SM1615, p.55 Bouree d'avignon
 Vallet SM1616, p.5 Bouree
40. d'Engelsche klokke dans. (*Engelsche stemmen*. The Clocke dauns)
 D-B N 479, f.68r Ballet
43. Gaillarde Belle. (*Fransche voisen*.)
 NL-Lu 1666, ff.14v-15v Gallarde. Belle qui me vas martirant [lute quartet]
 Vallet SM1615, pp.63-64 Courante de Mars
 Vallet SM1615, p.70 Courante de Mars
 Vallet SM1616, pp.34-35 Est-ce mars A 4. Luts
 Vallet SM1616, pp.36-37 Courante de mars A 4. Luts
47. La Vignonne. (*Fransche voisen*.)
 Ballard DL1614, pp.26-27 [Courante] Septiesme [header: La Vignonne]
 Vallet SM1615, p.80 Lauignonne A.9
 D-B Hove 1, ff.39v-40 Courante La Vignonne
 D-B N 479, f.7r Courante / La Vignonne
 D-B N 479, ff.58v-59r La Vingrone
 D-B N 479, ff.74v-75v La Vignonne

48. Almande Nonette, Of: Une Jeune fillette. (*Almanden. /Fransche voisen.*) [untitled]
 D-B N 479, ff.90v-91r
 Phalèse TM1563, ms. after f.68v Almande Nonette
 Phalèse LTM1568, f.88r Almande Nonette / Reprins
 Jobin AB1573, sigs. F2r-F2v Teutscher Dantz/Nach dantz
 Waissel TC1573, f.M2r Tantz/Sprunck
 Newsidler TL1574, sigs. K1v-K2r Ich gieng ein mal spacerien/ Volget der Hupffauß
 PhalèseBellere TM1574, f.80r Almande la nonette
 Adriaenssen PM1584, f.88r Almande Nonnette
 Barbeta IL1585, p.20 Balletto Francese detto Almande
 Waissel TA1591, sig. B3r Tantz / Sprung
 Adriaenssen PM1600, f.72r Almande Nonette
 Besard TH1603, ff.131v-132r Almande Une Jeune fillette
 Hove DM1612, ff.55v-56r Une Jeune Fillette./Mr Jacques Pollonis
 Hove DM1612, ff.56v-57r Ulfima Parte./ Joachimus vanden Hove
 Vallet SM1615, pp.43-44 Une jeune fillette
 NL-Lu 1666, f.380r Une jeune fillette
 NL-Lu 1666, f.380v [untitled]
 NL-Lu 1666, f.509r Almande Nonette
50. Fransche Gaillarde. (*Fransche voisen.*)
 NL-Lu 1666, f.16v Gaillarde Fransoyse Sup[eriu]s
 NL-Lu 1666, f.18r Gaillarde France
 NL-Lu 1666, f.18v [Gaillarde France]
 NL-Lu 1666, f.19v Gaillarde franchoyse Bassus
 NL-Lu 1666, f.20r Gaillarda Franchoyse Tenor
 NL-Lu 1666, f.20v Gaillarde Franchoyse Contraten[or]
 NL-Lu 1666, f.24r Gaillarde France. Wie sal mijn troetelen
51. Windeken daer het bosch van drielt. (*Nederlandsche Stemmen.*)

- D-B Hove 1, f.43r
 NL-Lu 1666, f.378r
55. 'tEngels Malsims. (*Engelsche stemmen*.)
 Hove DM1612, f.59r
 Vallet SM1615, p.92
 Vallet SM1616, pp.8-9
 D-B N 479, ff.64v-65r
57. Pavane Lachrime. (*Pavanen*.)
 Barley NB1596, f.E1r
 Morley FB1599, no 7
 Dowland SB1600, no2
 Rude FM1600, f.65v
 Hove FC1601, f.94r
 Besard TH1603, f.16v
 Dowland LS1604, f.B1v
 Hove DM1612, f.2v
 Fuhrmann TG1615, p.60
 Besard NP1617, f.7r
 D-B N 479, ff.72v-74r
 D-Hbusch, ff.24r-27r
 NL-Lu 1666, f.388v
 NL-Lu 1666, f.389v
58. Pots hondert duytsent slapperment. (*Almanden*. Pekelharing)
 D-B Hove 1, f.161r
62. Courante Serbande. (*Fransche Couranten*.)
 Ballard PL1611, p.55
 Vallet SM1615, p.83
 D-Hs ND VI 3238, p.63
- Windecken
 J'aymeray tousiours ma Phyllis
- Ballet Englese / Incerte (in G minor)
 Bal Anglois / Mal Simmes. (in G minor)
 Malsimmes. (in C minor)
 Franciscano (in G minor)
- Lacrime by J.D.
 Lacrime Pavin
 Flow my teares
 Pavana a5 voc. Dalandi Angli
 Pavana Lachrime
 Fantasia Ioannis Dooland Angli Lachrimae
 Lachrimae Antiquae. /1 / Io. Dowland
 Preludium Lachrime
 Pavana Lachrimae V.S.
 Lachrimae J. Dooland à I.B.B. [lute quartet]
 Pavana Lachrimae
 Pavana Lachrime
 Lacrime
 Lacryme
- Peckelharinx Masquarade
- Courante de la Reyne, dixiesme
 La Courante Sarabande
 Sarabande

67. Pavane d'Espagne. (*Pavanen*.)
- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Caroso IB1581, f.39v | Pavaniglia with 3 lute parts: STB |
| Negri GA1602, p.135 | Pavaniglia |
| Besard TH1603, f.105r | Pavana Hispanica I.B.B. |
| Robinson SM1603, f.L2v | The Spanish Pavin |
| Fuhrmann TG1615, p.55 | Pavana Spagnolet: 2 |
| Vallet SM1615, p.57 | Pavanne de spagne |
| Vallet SM1616, p.6 | Pavanne de Spagne |
| EIRE-Dtc 410/I, p.162 | Pavin Hisp. |
| D-B N 479, f.6 | [untitled] |
| NL-Lu 1666, f.140r i | Pavane Despaigne |
| NL-Lu 1666, f.140r ii | [untitled] |
| NL-Lu 1666, f.140v i | [untitled] |
| NL-Lu 1666, f.140v ii | [untitled, 2 settings] |
| NL-Lu 1666, f.141r i | [untitled] |
| NL-Lu 1666, f.141r ii | [untitled] |
| NL-Lu 1666, f.141v | [untitled] |
| NL-Lu 1666, f.142r i | [untitled] |
| NL-Lu 1666, f.142r ii | [untitled] |
68. Ballet. Questa dolce Sirena. (*Italiaensche stemmen*.)
- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------|
| D-B Hove 1, f.165v | Questa dolce Sirena |
| NL-Lu 1666, f.190v | Questa dolce sirena A.5 |
70. Courante Françoyse. Of O Angenietje, &c. (*Fransche Couranten*.)
- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| D-B N 479, f.59v-60r | Belleville [in D] |
|----------------------|-------------------|
74. Almande Monsieur. (*Almanden*.) with 3 lute parts: STB
- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Morley FB1599, no. 15 | Mounsiers Almaine [lute part is lost] |
| Hove FC1601, f.99v | Allmande Monsieur / Reprinse |
| Hove FC1601, f.108v | Almande Monsieur / Reprinse |

Dowland VL1610, f.O1r
 Mouniers Almaine/ Danuell Bachelor
 NL-Lu 1666, f.484r
 Allemande Mons[ieu]r
 NL-Lu 1666, f.484v
 [untitled]
 NL-Lu 1666, f.485r i
 [untitled]
 NL-Lu 1666, f.485r ii
 [untitled]
 NL-Lu 1666, f.485v-486r
 [untitled]

NL-Lu 1666, f.381r **Ballet de trois princes**

76. Ballet Marignault. (*Baletten*.)

Sources for the settings in Appendix 2.

I. Printed lute sources before 1625:

Adriaenssen NPM1592	Emanuel Adriaenssen, <i>Novum Pratum Musicum</i> (Antwerpen, 1592).
Adriaenssen PM1584	Emanuel Adriaenssen, <i>Pratum Musicum</i> (Antwerpen, 1584).
Adriaenssen PM1600	Emanuel Adriaenssen, <i>Pratum Musicum</i> (Antwerpen, 1600), revised reprint of Adriaenssen PM1584.
Ballard PL1611	Robert Ballard, <i>Premier livre de tablature de Luth</i> (Paris, 1611).
Ballard DL1614	Robert Ballard, <i>Deuxieme livre de tablature de Luth</i> (Paris, 1614).
Barbetta IL1585	Giulio Cesare Barbetta, <i>Intavolatura di Liuto</i> (Venezia, 1585).
Barley NB1596	William Barley, <i>A new Booke of Tabliture</i> [consists of three books, for lute, orpharion and bandora, each book separately foliated] (London, 1596).
Becchi LP1568	Antonio di Becchi, <i>Libro Primo d'intabulatura da Leuto</i> (Venezia, 1568).
Besard NP1617	Jean-Baptiste Besard, <i>Novus Partus</i> (Augsburg, 1617).
Besard TH1603	Jean-Baptiste Besard, <i>Thesaurus Harmonicus</i> (Köln, 1603).
Caroso IB1581	Fabritio Caroso, <i>Il Ballerino</i> (Venezia 1581), dance treatise with lute tablature and mensural notation.
Denss FO1594	Adrian Denss, <i>Florilegium omnis fere generis</i> (Köln, 1594).
Dowland LS1604	John Dowland, <i>Lachrimae, or Seaven Teares</i> (London, 1604), for lute and viol consort.

- Dowland SB1600 John Dowland, *The second booke of songs or ayres, of 2. 4. and 5. parts: with tableture for the lute or orpherian, with the violl de gamba ... also an excelent lesson for the lute and base viol, called Dowlands adew* (London, 1600).
- Dowland VL1610 Robert Dowland, *Varietie of Lute-lessons* (London, 1610).
- Fuhrmann TG1615 Georg Leopold Fuhrmann, *Testudo Gallo-Germanica* (Nürnberg, 1615).
- Hove DM1612 Joachim van den Hove, *Delitiae musicae sive cantiones* (Utrecht, 1612).
- Hove FC1601 Joachim van den Hove, *Florida sive cantiones* (Utrecht, 1601).
- Jobin AB1573 Bernhart Jobin, *Das Ander Buch* (Strasbourg, 1573).
- Morley FB1599 Thomas Morley, *The First Booke of Consort Lessons* (London 1599/ reprinted 1611). Partbooks for bandora, cittern, flute, treble viol and bass viol survive, but the lute part book is lost.
- Negri GA1602 Cesare Negri, *Le Gratie d'Amore* (Milano, 1602), dance treatise with lute tablature and mensural notation.
- Newsidler TL1574 Melchior Newsidler, *Teutsch Lautenbuch* (Strasbourg, 1574).
- Phalèse L TM1568 Pierre Phalèse, *Luculentum Theatrum Musicum* (Leuven, 1568).
- Phalèse TM1563 Pierre Phalèse, *Theatrum Musicum* (Leuven, 1563).
- PhalèseBellereTM1574 Pierre Phalèse and Jean Bellère, *Thesaurus Musicus* (Leuven, Antwerpen, 1574).
- Robinson SM1603 Thomas Robinson, *The Schoole of Musicke* (London, 1603).
- Rude FM1600 Johann Rude, *Flores Musicae*, Vols. I-II (Heidelberg, 1600).
- Vallet SM1615 Nicolas Vallet, *Secretum Musarum / Het gheheymnisse der Zang-Godinnen* (Amsterdam, 1615).
- Vallet SM1616 Nicolas Vallet, *Secretum Musarum II / Het tweede Boeck van de Luyt-Tablatuer, ghenoeemt het Gheheymnisse der Sangh-Godinnen* (Amsterdam, 1616).
- Waisel TC1573 Matthäus Waisel, *Tabulatura, Continens Insignes et Selectissimas Quaesive* (Frankfurt, 1573).
- Waisel TA1591 Matthäus Waisel, *Tabulatura Allerley künstlicher Preambulen, auserlesener Deutscher und Polnischer Tentze [...]* (Frankfurt, 1591).

II. Manuscript lute sources with a Dutch connection, written before c.1625:

- D-B Hove 1 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. ms. autogr. Hove 1, c.1615.

- D-B N 479 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, N.Mus.Ms.479, c.1620 (Wolfgang Hoffmann von Grünbüchel Lute Book).
- D-Hbusch Hamburg, private library of Hans von Busch, Ms. Herold, Padua 1602.
- D-Hs ND VI 3238 Hamburg, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. ND VI 3238 (formerly M B /2768): Ernst Schele lute book, c.1615.
- EIRE-Dtc 410/1 Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 410/1 (formerly Ms. D.3.30 /D): Thomas Dallis lute book, c.1583 (bound with the unrelated MS 410 /2: Dublin virginal manuscript).
- NL-Lu 1666 Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Bibliotheca Thysiana, MS 1666 (formerly MS 133.1.63): Johan Thysius lute book, c.1595-1646.
- NL-Lu BPL 2792 Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 2792, six lute pieces c.1620-50, written on sheets bound in *Deliciae Batavae Variae Elegantesque picturae omnes Belgii antiquitates ...*, *Jacobus Marci* (Lugduni Batavorum [Leiden], 1616).

MR. Q IS MR. R: JOHAN VAN REEDE, LORD OF RENSWOUDE (1593-1682)

RUDOLF RASCH

The so-called Goëss tablatures, discovered in 1979 by Douglas Alton Smith in the library of Schloss Ebenthal near Klagenfurt in Carinthia, belong among the most important 17th- and early 18th-century sources for music for lute, theorbo and viol. Their discovery was made public three years later,¹ and now the manuscripts are available to the performer and the researcher in the form of facsimile editions published by Tree Edition of Munich (1988-96).²

The whole collection of the Goëss Tablatures comprises 13 manuscripts, which can be divided into several groups, as far as their origin is concerned. The oldest group contains five manuscripts, which have been labelled Goëss I, II, A, B, and Theorbo. They were written in the third quarter of the 17th century. The manuscripts are linked to one another by a writing hand that is prominently present in all five of them, although not all five are entirely written by this hand. Smith dubbed the scribe behind this hand 'Q' because of the Q-like scribble to be seen through the final bar of all pieces copied by him (Fig. 1).

The five manuscripts of this group contain compositions by Dietrich Stoeffken, Hotman, Dufaut, Vieux Gautier, Denis Gautier, and many others. From the manuscripts and their contents it is clear that they have a

¹ Douglas Alton Smith, 'The Ebenthal lute and viol tablatures: Thirteen new manuscripts of baroque instrumental music', *Early Music* x (1982), pp.462-467.

² *The Goëss Lute Manuscripts I (c.1655-1670)*, with introduction and concordances by Tim Crawford (Munich, 1988); *The Goëss Lute Manuscripts II (c.1655-1670)*, with introduction and concordances by Tim Crawford (Munich, 1993); *Goëss A: Pieces for Viol*, with preface by Tim Crawford, (n.p., 1999); *The Ebenthal Tablature Mss. Goëss B (1668): Pieces for Viol*, with general preface by Tim Crawford, (n.p., 1997); *The Goëss Tablature Manuscripts: Theorbo Book (ca 1650-1670): Pieces for Theorbo/Archlute – Pieces for Lute*, with general preface by Tim Crawford (n.p., 1996).

close connection with the Dutch Republic. The connection appears from two observations.

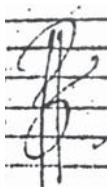


Fig. 1. Schloß Ebenthal, Ms. I (Goëss A), f.73r.

The first is that two inscriptions refer directly to a compilation in the Dutch Republic. The manuscript Goëss A has on its title page:

A Utrecht le 19 X^{bre} [décembre] 1664

and Goëss B has:

Contentement passe richesse
A Utrecht ce 6 May 1668

These inscriptions were clearly written there by the first owner of the manuscript, probably at the time of binding. Unfortunately, he did not write his name anywhere in the five manuscripts. *Contentement passe richesse* (Contentment is better than riches) is a French proverb, quoted, for example, in Molière's comedy *Le médecin malgré lui* (1666).³ Considering the fact that the motto is not mentioned in the inscription of 1664, but is in the inscription of 1668, it may well be derived directly from Molière's stage-play.

Commentators until now have always assumed that all the manuscripts discovered in Schloss Ebenthal have been in the possession of the Goëss family since they were written. For some groups of manuscripts this assumption is quite plausible. The so-called second and third groups of manuscripts (MSS III, IV, V and VI and MSS VII, VIII and IX respectively) can be linked to Maria Anna von Sinzendorff Ernstbrunn (1670-1709), the wife of Johann Peter von Goëss (1667-1716); and a lute book from 1740, to their daughter Maximiliana von Goëss (1725-55). For the first group the explanation of the relation with the Goëss family was more complicated. Smith (1982) pointed to Johann de Trooch, the First

³ Act II, Scene 2: 'En mariage, comme ailleurs, contentement passe richesse'.

Baron a Goëssen (1611-96), who grew up in the Spanish Netherlands. He located the origin of the first group in Brabant, despite the two inscriptions that suggest a connection with Utrecht.

Tim Crawford, in his introduction to the various facsimile volumes, pointed to the relation between the manuscripts and Constantijn Huygens. After all, Manuscript A contains the only preserved instrumental piece by Huygens, an Allemande for viola da gamba.⁴

A fortuitous circumstance made it possible for me to discover the identity of the scribe now widely known as Mr. Q. At the end of Huygens's composition scribe Q wrote the composer's name as 'Mr Zuilekom' and it struck me that the Z of 'Zuilekom' closely resembled the way the Utrecht nobleman Johan van Reede wrote the Z of 'Zuijlichem', (but one other of the many spelling variants one finds in the 17th century for the name of the village on the north bank of the river Waal now known as 'Zuilichem') a title of Huygens by which he is addressed on one of the letters Van Reede sent to him (Figs. 2 and 3).⁵

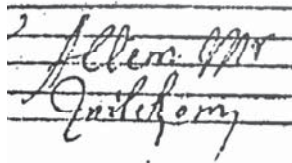


Fig. 2. Schloß Ebenthal, Ms. I (Goëss A), f.73r.

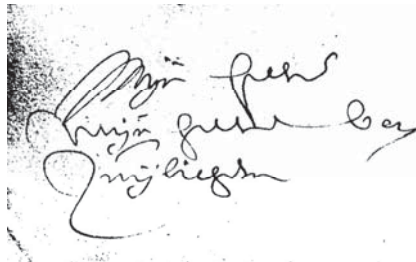


Fig. 3. The Hague, Royal House Archives, Inv. G1, No. 8, Vol. 4.

⁴ Tim Crawford, "'Allemande Mr. Zuilekom': Constantijn Huygens's sole surviving instrumental composition,' *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* xxxvii (1987), pp.175-81, and T. Crawford, 'A composition for viola da gamba by Constantijn Huygens', in *Veelzijdigheid als levensvorm: Facetten van Constantijn Huygens' leven en werk*, ed. A.Th. van Deursen, E. Grootes and P. Kuyl (Deventer, 1987; Deventer Studiën 2), pp.79-88.

⁵ It is the address of the letter of 20 December 1650, quoted in full below.

The handwriting of the two examples is certainly not completely identical, but one must take into account that the author's inscription in the Goëss manuscript is in French-type handwriting, the letter address in Dutch-style handwriting. Despite the different handwriting types the Z is remarkably similar in both types.

Once the identification was made, it soon appeared to be quite a plausible one. Johann van Reede had a residence in the city of Utrecht and was closely acquainted with Constantijn Huygens. He lived from 1593 to 1682. Who was this man?

Johan van Reede belonged to a noble family with possessions in the Province of Utrecht.⁶ In 1623 he became, by purchase, Lord of Renswoude, a village some 20 kilometres east of Utrecht, adjacent to the border with Gelderland. Van Reede was a member of the States of Utrecht from 1634 onwards (and President 1652-71) and for many years a representative of the Province of Utrecht in the States General of the Dutch Republic (1639-71, 1674-81). He was in England as an envoy for the States General from 1643 to 1645; on this occasion he was made an English Baron by King Charles I.⁷ In 1656 he went to Denmark as an envoy; there he was installed in the Danish Order of the Elephant.⁸

In 1616 Johan van Reede married Jacomina van Eeden (1595-1671). They had eight children: Gerard (1617-66),⁹ Hendrik (c.1620?-69), Mechteld (1622-92), Geertruida Magdalena (1624-6), Amelia Catherina (1626-57), Maria Magdalena (1628-??), Jacoba (1630?-46?) and Fredrik (c.1630?-1715).

Johan van Reede left several traces in Renswoude that are still visible today.¹⁰ In the village he had a Reformed church in the Classical style built by Jacob van Campen (1638-41); this church still stands there. And in 1654 the old castle of Renswoude, named Borgwal or Bornewal, was

⁶ See the article 'Reede van Renswoude (Johan baron van)', *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, ed. P.C. Molhuysen and P. J. Blok, iii (Leiden, 1914), cols.1037-1038.

⁷ For this reason, he appears in the *British Dictionary of National Biography* as 'John de Reede, First Baron Reede'.

⁸ Johan van Reede's political activities are studied in Ferry Gouwens, "'Ontdaen van de radicale qualiteyten ende de hooge bedieninge.'" Johan van Reede, heer van Renswoude (1593-1682). Een politieke biografie', MA thesis Leiden University, 2013, at <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/21561>, accessed 7 March 2015.

⁹ See the article 'Reede van Renswoude (Gerard baron van)', *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, iii, col.1036.

¹⁰ See Egbert Wolleswinkel, *Renswoude: Geschiedenis en architectuur* (Zeist, 1998; Monumenten-Inventarisatie Provincie Utrecht 20).

rebuild in Classical style by Gijsbert Theunisoon van Vianen and Pieter Jansoon van Cooten. It is a magnificent manor house now.

In 1619 Paulus Moreelse painted the portraits of Johan van Reede and his wife Jacomina.¹¹ These paintings are still in the possession of the descendants of Van Hardenbroeck, who had married Johan van Reede's daughter Mechteld.

Nothing is known about Johan van Reede's musical education, but he must have received one. He was not a member of the Collegium Musicum Ultrajectinum, which was established in Utrecht in 1631. Nevertheless he donated a set of no fewer than seven viols to the Collegium, probably at some point in the 1650s or 1660s.¹² This donation makes it plausible to assume that he had a fair number of instruments at home. In 1672 Utrecht was occupied by French troops and the Collegium Musicum was suspended. The instruments were given back to their original owners.¹³

Johan van Reede and Constantijn Huygens knew one another well and over a long period of time, perhaps even a full half-century, although we do not know exactly how long and how well. The first evidence of contact is an undated letter, probably from 1637.¹⁴ Van Reede wrote several dozens of letters to Huygens from London, during his embassy there, from 1643 to 1645, to report on the situation at the English court. From later times, the correspondence is rather limited, at least that which has survived, and most of the letters deal with business matters. No letter by Constantijn Huygens to Van Reede is known to be extant, if any ever existed.

An exception to the business letters is the brief note that Van Reede sent to Huygens on 20 December 1650, which is quoted here in full:¹⁵

¹¹ For Johan van Reede's portrait see <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/14567>; for that of Jacomina van Eeden <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/142703> as at 7 March 2015. The paintings belong to the collection of the Baronesse Van Hardenbroek-Snouck Hurgronje, on Castle Hardenbroek (province of Utrecht).

¹² Utrecht, Utrechts Archief (henceforth: UU), toegang 31, Archief 117, Collegium Musicum Ultrajectinum, nr. 3, p. 233: 'Lijste der Instrumenten ende boecken desen Collegie toebehorende. [...] 2 Basso Violons, 3 Teneurs, 2 Superanen. In twee kisten bij den Edelen Heere Johan Baron van Rheede, Heere van Renswoude, in dit Collegie gebracht.'

¹³ UU, toegang 31, Archief 117, Collegium Musicum Ultrajectinum, No. 3, p. 234: 'Alsoo ten tijde der Fransen Anno 1672 de voorschreve instrumenten aen de eigenaers gerestitueert zijn geworden, [...]'

¹⁴ J.A. Worp, *De briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens (1608-1687)*, vi: 1663-1687 (The Hague, 1917), Supplement, no.18, p.473.

¹⁵ Rudolf Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven over muziek van, aan en rond Constantijn Huygens* (Hilversum, 2007), no.5084A, pp.963-964.

Mijnheere
Mijnheere van Zuilichem.

Mijnheere,

Ick sende hiernevens ene theorbe. UEd. gelieve mij door mijn dienaer te laeten weten of desen beter van resonantie is als die UEd. huydenmorgen mijn terug heeft gesonden, als die tot ene theorbe sou worden gemaect, indien beter en bequamer is, wat UEd. die oordeelt waerdich te sijn. En versoecke mijn te excuseren dat ick UEd. moeilijk valle. Dewijle het evenwel in UEd. element is, vertrouwde niet onaengenaem van diegene die blijft,

Mijnheere,
UEd. ootmoedigen dienaer
Johan van Reede.

20 December 1650.

This can be translated as:

Monsieur,
Monsieur de Zuilichem,

Monsieur,

I send you herewith a theorbo. I hope Your Lordship will let me know through my valet if this one is of better resonance than the one Your Lordship sent back to me this morning, if the instrument were made into a theorbo. If this one is better and more suitable, what does your Lordship judge this instrument to be worth? And please excuse me for disturbing you. Because you are interested in the matter, he trusts that it is not inconvenient for you, who remains,

Monsieur,
Your humble servant,
Johan van Reede.

The letter seems to mean that Van Reede first had sent a lute to Huygens asking if it could be transformed into a theorbo, or rather an archlute.¹⁶ Huygens must have reported in the negative, which made Van Reede send a theorbo [or archlute], to know Huygens's opinion of it. The letter means that he possessed a number of instruments of the lute family as well.

The relation between Huygens and Van Reede took a rather strange twist around 1680. In a letter of 16 September 1683 to Henri de Beringhen, Huygens, now over 85 years of age, boasts about his vitality: he is still President of the Council of the Domains of the Prince of Orange and still practices his five instruments, the lute, the theorbo, the viol, the keyboard and the guitar.¹⁷ In addition he is the one survivor from a threesome of friends of similar age. This threesome included, beside himself, Johan van Reede (in fact three years older) and the medical doctor Willem van der Straten (also three years older than Huygens). Van der Straten had died on 18 November 1681, Van Reede on 7 February 1682.

Huygens must have been obsessed by the question which of the three would survive the other two, for he wrote a great number of epitaphs for his friends both before and after their demises touching on this subject. The first of these poems in relation to Van Reede is the following epitaph in anticipation:¹⁸

Vanden Hr. van Renswoude in't leven, 10 oktober 1680

Hier light Renswoude; neen, ick heb maer willen seggen,
Hier sal hij liggen als 't behoort.
Dan, soo hij sijn musijck langh hoort,
(Lang moet' hij s'hooren noch) hij salder niet haest leggen.

(Here lies Renswoude, no, I only wanted to say
Here he will lie if it is his turn.
Then, as long as he hears his music
(And may he hear it for a long time yet), he will not lie here soon.)

¹⁶ Terminology is rarely completely consistent and reliable in 17th-century sources. But if a double-strung lute is provided with a second pegbox for bass strings, the instrument would probably have to be classified as an archlute rather than as a theorbo.

¹⁷ Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven*, no.7208, pp.1257-61.

¹⁸ J.A. Worp, *De gedichten van Constantijn Huygens*, viii: 1671-1687 (Groningen, 1898), p.247.

The poem clearly refers to Van Reede's musical occupations and suggests that Van Reede was, just like Huygens at that time, still active as an amateur musician. On 5 and 16 December 1681 Huygens wrote two poems for Johan van Reede, on the subject that they (Huygens and Van Reede) were still alive, whereas Van der Straten, a medical doctor and with all his pills, had already died.¹⁹

Van Reede apparently fell seriously ill in January 1682. Huygens wrote, on 21 and 27 January, two poems that are obituaries in anticipation. In the first one Van Reede's 'art of life' is praised.²⁰ The second is a Latin epitaph of 12 lines.²¹ This was translated into Dutch on 17 March, after Van Reede had died on 7 February.²² Van Reede figures in a few more poems from this period.

If the five early Goëss tablatures were indeed written by or for Van Reede, how did they enter the possession of the Goëss family?

Let us first have a look at Johan van Reede's male descendants. He had three sons, Gerard, Frederik and Hendrik. Gerard van Reede van Renswoude (1617-66) married Mechteld van Zuylen van Nyevelde (1621-99) in 1646. The couple had three children, of whom two sons, Johan, Lord of Renswoude en Emminkhuysen, and Godard, Lord of Renswoude, died unmarried, in 1670 and 1681 respectively. The third son, Frederik Adriaan van Reede (1659-1738), made a career in the administration of the Dutch Republic and was one of the negotiators of the Peace Congress of Utrecht in 1713.²³ In 1685 he married the rich heiress Maria Duyst van Voorhout (1662-1754). The couple had no children; it was said that he was homosexual. He became a member of the Utrecht Collegium Musicum in 1689, which evidences musical interests.

Van Reede's second son Frederik van Reede (c.1630-1715) served in the State Army. In 1676 he married Clara Elisabeth van der Mijle (1652-1709). The couple had no surviving sons. The third son Hendrik van

¹⁹ 'Aen den Heere van Renswoude', 8 lines, 5 December 1681, *Gedichten*, viii, p.271. 'Aen den Heere van Renswoude', six four-line stanzas, 16 December 1681, *Gedichten*, viii, pp.273-274.

²⁰ 'Aen den Heere van Renswoude' (another copy has the title 'Aenden selven Heere seer kranck te bedde'), 10 lines, 21 January 1682, *Gedichten*, viii, p.278.

²¹ 'Iohannis de Reede Renswoudii V.N. longo mortalitatis vitae ad aeternam cursu pijsime defuncti epitaphium,' 12 lines, 27 January 1682, *Gedichten*, viii, p.278.

²² 'Op het graf van den Heer Johan van Reede van Renswoude, Den langen loop sijnes sterfelijcken levens naer het eewige seer godsaelighlijck afgeleght hebbende,' 12 lines, translation of the Latin epitaph of 27 January, 17 March 1682, *Gedichten*, viii, p.287.

²³ See the article 'Reede van Renswoude (Frederik Adriaan baron van)', in *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, iii, cols.1034-1035.

Reede (c.1620?-69) was envoy in Spain for the States General from 1656 onwards, and was most of the time in Spain.²⁴ He died in Madrid in 1669, unmarried.

This all means that at the time of Van Reede's death in 1682 there were only two male surviving descendants: his son Frederik, a military man, and his grandson Frederik Adriaan. One would expect that Van Reede's music books, including the manuscripts for lute, theorbo and viol now belonging to the Goëss Tablatures, would go to Frederik Adriaan, especially in consideration of his musical interests. The second will of Johan van Reede, however, points in another direction.

Van Reede drafted a will twice. The first one is dated 28 August 1671.²⁵ No mention is made of music books or musical instruments. The second will is dated 20 October 1682 and is rather explicit about his musical instruments and the music books in his possession.²⁶ The following passage is especially relevant:

Item soo legateren wij aen onsen cleijndochter Jacoba Margriet van Hardenbroeck, Vrouwe van Raephorst, soo sij mijn doot beleeft, mijne harpe, en mijne musijckboecken, soo gedruckte als geschreven, maer die niet te mogen verkopen, maer wel aen onse bloedvrienden vereeren, die haer in de musijck exerceren, als mede aen haer suster Geertruyt eenighe sal geven, als sij oordelen sal haer dienstich te kunnen sijn.

(We bequeath to our grand-daughter Jacoba Margaretha van Hardenbroeck, Lady of Raephorst, if she survives me, my harp and my music books, both printed and manuscript. They may not be sold, but given to our relatives who exercise themselves in music, and a few to her sister Geertruida, the one that she [Geertruida] shall judge useful.)

Geertruida was bequeathed Van Reede's harpsichord:

Noch legateren wij Geertruit van Hardenbroeck ons clijndochter onse Clavesimbel met Musijckboecken aen haer suster van Raephorst gemaect, die sij oordelen sal dat haer dienstich soudén wesen kunnen.

(We also bequeath to Geertruida van Hardenbroeck, our granddaughter, our harpsichord, with music books bequeathed to her sister, Lady of Raephorst, which she [Geertruida] will judge to be useful to her.)

²⁴ O. Schutte, *Repertorium der Nederlandse vertegenwoordigers residerende in het buitenland, 1584-1810* ('s-Gravenhage, 1976), no.293, p.389.

²⁵ UU, toegang 754, inv.no.104.

²⁶ UU, toegang 754, inv.no.105.

In other words all the music books were bequeathed to Jacoba Margaretha van Hardenbroeck, but her sister was allowed to pick some that she believed would be useful for her.

Van Reede's granddaughter Jacoba Margaretha was a daughter of his daughter Mechteld van Reede. Mechteld had married Gijsbert van Hardenbroeck (c.1620-58), governor of Hulst (Flanders, but in the territory occupied by the State Army, so-called 'State Flanders'). The couple had six children, among them the daughters Jacoba Margaretha and Geertruida. Jacoba Margaretha was married twice, first to Philip Jacob Baron van den Boetzelaer (1656-86, Lord of Asperen and Raephorst) and after his early death to Wilt Johan van Broeckhuysen, Lord of De Lathmer (1659-1729), in 1691. The first marriage was commented upon by Constantijn Huygens's daughter Susanna in a letter to her brother Christiaan, dated 10 November 1678:²⁷

Mardy le fils de Monsieur d'Aspre s'est marié avec la Damoiselle de Hardenbroeck, que vous connoissez. Ce mariage aura besoing d'un grande bénédiction, car toutes les qualitez acquises à un bon mariage ne s'y trouvent pas, mais ce qui est le pire c'est que ce jeune Baron, tout jeune qu'il est, a la réputation d'estre desbauché autant qu'on le peut estre, et la Dame son espouse, ou astheure sa femme, a environ douze ou treize années plus que luy. C'est un mariage fait extrêmement à la haste, pour luy destourner d'une intrigue ou engagement, que ce gentilhomme avoit, sans le sceu de ses parens, avec une Dame van der Nat, une veuve et une grande putain. Madame d'Aspre est plus amoureuse, dit-on, de sa belle fille que son fils-mesme.

(Last Tuesday the son of Lord Van Asperen married Miss Hardenbroeck, whom you know. This marriage will be in need of a lot of blessing, for all the qualities required for a good marriage are missing. The worst is that the young baron, as young as he is, has the reputation of a debauchee as much as can be, and the lady his bride, or at this moment his wife, is about twelve or thirteen years older than he is. It is a marriage made in extreme haste, to distract this gentleman from an intrigue or engagement that he had, without his parents knowing, with a Lady Van der Nat, a widow and a great slut. Lady Van Asperen, it is said, loves her daughter-in-law more than her own son.)

The Van den Boetzelaer family is one of the great noble houses of the Province of Holland, which means that they had a residence in The Hague. Despite the age of the husband the marriage was without offspring.

²⁷ Christiaan Huygens, *Œuvres Complètes*, viii: *Correspondance 1676-1684* ('s-Gravenhage, 1899), no. 2147, pp.119-122.

Jacoba Margaretha's second marriage was with a much younger husband again, and again without issue: she had already reached the age of 45 years when this marriage was concluded. The husband, Van Broeckhuysen, belonged to the nobility of the Province (former Dukedom) of Gelderland and was a representative for this province in the States General in The Hague from 1704 to 1723. This position also meant that the couple had a residence in The Hague.

A portrait of Jacoba Margaretha van Hardenbroeck is known. It is a relatively small painting (36.5 cm high, 30 cm wide), signed 'Nason [?, sic] f [fecit] 1674' but today attributed to Jan Tilius (1653-94?).²⁸ It shows a lady in a white dress with an oblong music book on a table. The music book is in staff notation, therefore it is certainly not one of the Goëss tablatures, had the date of the painting, before her first marriage, not already made that very improbable. But the music book confirms her interest in music. The painting was auctioned by Lempertz in Cologne in 2013; the present owner is unknown.

Does the biography of this granddaughter of Johan van Reede touch that of any member of the Goëss family? Yes, it does, albeit circumstantially and without direct evidence.

Johann Peter *Reichsgraf* von Goëss (1667-1716) was Imperial Envoy in The Hague from 1698 to 1707.²⁹ He had married Anna Apollonia von Sinzendorf Ernstbrunn (1672-1709); she is the person that is normally connected with the second group of Goëss Tablatures, the manuscripts III, IV, V and VI. We must assume that during the residence of Johann Peter von Goëss and his wife Anna Apollonia in The Hague around 1700 the manuscripts of Johan van Reede came, via his granddaughter Jacoba Margaretha van Hardenbroeck, in one way or another, into the possession of the Goëss family, notably that of Anna Apollonia. But, it must be stressed, this is an hypothesis only.

²⁸ See <https://rkd.nl/en/explore/images/44483> as at 7 March 2015 and <https://www.lempertz.com/nl/catalogi/lot/1008-1/55-jan-tilius.html> as at 7 March 2015.

²⁹ Schutte, *Repertorium der buitenlandse vertegenwoordigers*, no.127, pp.148-149.

JOHANNES FRESNEAU, A NEW ‘DUTCH’ LUTENIST AND A NEW DUTCH LUTE MANUSCRIPT¹

JAN W.J. BURGERS

Introduction

In the library of the castle of the noble Austrian Goëss family in Ebenthal is a rich collection of manuscripts for lute, guitar and viol.² The oldest of these, consisting of two books for lute and two for viol, clearly belong together, as each of them contains contributions from the same writing hand. This scribe also wrote in the viol books a French inscription, ‘à Utrecht’, with the date 19 December 1664 in one and 6 May 1668 in the other; these presumably represent the dates at which the books were completed and bound, obviously in this Dutch city.³ That these four books originated in the Dutch Republic is confirmed by the fact that the repertory in them is somehow connected with Constantijn Huygens: here we find his single surviving piece for solo viol, and also many works of composers who are known from his letters as his correspondents and friends, such as the lutenists Jacques de Saint-Luc and François Dufaut and the viol players Dietrich Stoeffken (Steffkins) and Nicolas Hotman. In the collection are also works by composers who are practically unique to these sources, such as Hotman and a certain ‘Betkovsky’, another gambist, and also the lutenist Fresneau.

¹ I would like to thank François-Pierre Goy (Paris) and Jack Scholten (Leiden), who generously shared their knowledge and archival findings with me.

² On the Goëss manuscripts, see Tim Crawford, ‘The Goëss Lute and Viol Tablatures. General preface. London 1993’, *The Goëss Tablature collection*, xii: *Index* ([München], n.d.), no page numbers.

³ Rudolf Rasch states that the first owner of the manuscript, and writer of part of it, was Johan van Reede, Lord of Renswoude (1593-1682); see his chapter in this volume. In the opinion of the present writer, there is insufficient evidence to substantiate the assertion.

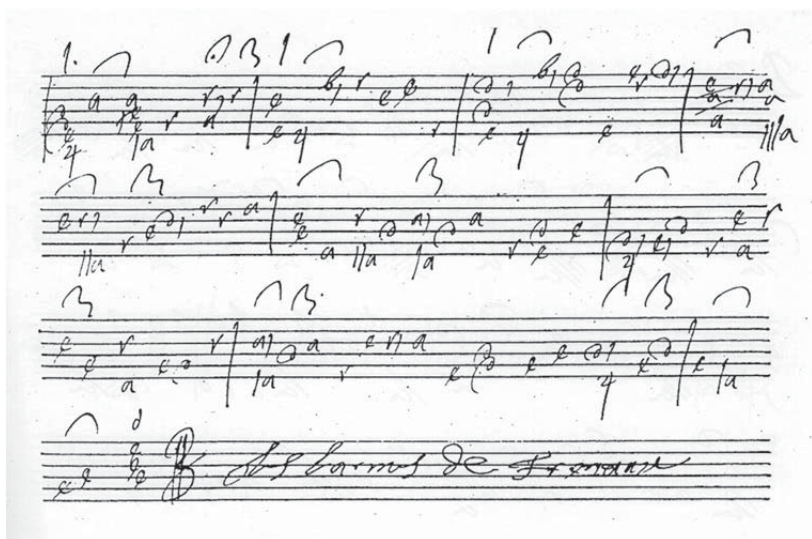


Fig. 1. Goëss I, f.25r, final page of *Les larmes de Fresneau*.

It is this Fresneau who concerns us here. His works are mainly transmitted in the manuscript Goëss I (Fig. 1), and in one other source, Kraków 40626, which will be dealt with below.⁴ This makes our Fresneau, who in Kraków 40626 is called Du Fresneau or Dufresneau, the composer of a significant body of music, but as a person he has long remained an enigma. Precisely because he is never mentioned in French sources, archival as well as musical, and because much of his music is found in the Dutch manuscript Goëss I, it was already suspected that he might have been active in Holland. Tim Crawford came up with the suggestion that he could have been the Carolus Margonne Dufresnoy from Paris who matriculated at Utrecht University in 1646.⁵ But Dieter Kirsch and Lenz Meierott argued that this identification is rather unlikely.⁶ The name of the Utrecht Dufresnoy is spelled differently from the (Du) Fresneau in the lute manuscripts (Table); ‘Fresnoy’ is not identical to ‘Fresneau’, even in the rather loose orthography of the 17th century. Furthermore, works by this Carolus would typically have been inscribed with his surname, ‘Monsieur

⁴ For details of the manuscripts, see Appendix II.

⁵ Crawford, ‘The Goëss Lute and Viol Tablatures’.

⁶ *Berliner Lautentablaturen. Zwei Handschriften aus der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts für Laute und Gitarre*, ed. D. Kirsch und L. Meierott (Mainz [etc.], 1996), p.4.

Margonne', or his title, 'sieur du Fresnoy'.⁷ Moreover, the activity of Carolus Dufresnoy in the Netherlands, c.1646-50, the period he studied in Utrecht, would seem rather early if his works had been transmitted in a Dutch lute book from the 1660s.

Table: Variants of the name Johannes (du) Fresneau

1. Name variants in lute and guitar manuscripts

<i>Goëss I</i>	<i>Berlin SA4060</i>	<i>Kraków 40626</i>
Frenau	Mr. Fresneau	Dufresneau
Frenauv		Du Fresneau
Mr. Fresneau		

2. Name variants in archival records

<i>documents:</i>	<i>signatures:</i>
Johannes Fresneau	J. Fresneau
Johannes Frenau	Joannes du fresneau
Johannes Frenouw	Johanes Fresneau
Johan Frenou	Johanes Frenau
Johannes Frenauw	
Johannes Frenou	

There is, however, a much more probable candidate for this lutenist Fresneau, and he had already been identified a long time ago. In 1895 the Dutch archivist Bram Servaas van Rooyen published in the *Algemeen Nederlandsch familieblad*, a rather obscure and short-lived periodical devoted to genealogical research, an article called 'Biographische bijdragen tot de muziekgeschiedenis van Nederland' (Biographical contributions to the music history of the Netherlands).⁸ In this, he lists composers and musicians from the early modern period, with some information about them that he had found in Dutch archives. One of these musicians was a certain Johannes Fresnau, who was mentioned in 1644 as a lutenist in the town of Leiden when he was married to Annet Asselings,

⁷ Carolus Margonne was possibly the son of Charles Margonne, *Conseiller du Roy*, who in 1621 bought the estate of Le Fresnoy, thereby becoming *sieur du Fresnoy* (*Berliner Lautentabulaturen*, p.4).

⁸ A.J. Servaas van Rooijen, 'Biographische bijdragen tot de muziekgeschiedenis van Nederland', *Algemeen Nederlandsch familieblad* xii (1895), pp.33-46 (Fresneau on p.38).

and in 1645 made his last will and testament. On the basis of this article, Johannes Fresnau was again mentioned in 1912 in the second volume of the *Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, in the entry on Andries Asselinck, Annet's father.⁹ Later, in the 1950s and '60s, the chemist and amateur musicologist Chris Vlam published a short list he had found containing the musical instruments owned by this Johannes Fresnau.¹⁰

Recently, when I was doing research on the lute in the Dutch Golden Age,¹¹ I found the articles by Servaas van Rooijen and Vlam, and I realised that this lutenist Johannes Fresnau is very probably the same as the mysterious Fresneau from the Goëss I manuscript. In the meantime, François-Pierre Goy also had discovered Fresnau's first name, but had not yet published that finding.¹²

Johannes Fresneau: His Life

What do we know about this Johannes Fresnau from Leiden? The archives in Leiden and also The Hague give some additional information about him.¹³

We first hear of Johannes Fresneau at the occasion of his imminent marriage (in Dutch: 'ondertrouw') to Anneken Asselingh.¹⁴ This took place in Leiden, on 30 March 1644. The register informs us that 'Freneau' is a lutenist, unmarried, and born in 'Zel in Berri'. Servaas van Royen mentions that Fresnau was 28 years old in 1644, however without

⁹ Enschedé, 'Asselinck (Andries Jansz.)', in *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, ed. P.C. Molhuysen en P.J. Blok, ii (Leiden, 1912), col.42.

¹⁰ Chr.C. Vlam, 'De vioolmakers Boumeester te Leiden', *Mens en melodie* x (1955), pp.151-5, at p.151; the list was published again by Vlam in: 'Leidse viool- en klavecimbelmakers in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw', *Jaarboekje voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde van Leiden en omstreken* lx (1968), pp.101-11, at p.102. Vlam refers to the lutenist first as 'Johannes Frenou', in the later article as 'Jan Dufresneau'.

¹¹ Jan W.J. Burgers, *The Lute in the Dutch Golden Age. Musical Culture in the Netherlands 1580-1670* (Amsterdam, 2013).

¹² Email from François-Pierre Goy, 8 February 2013. He had found the article in *Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, which is accessible on the internet at http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/molh003nieu02_01/molh003nieu02_01_0062.php.

¹³ The following paragraph is based on archival research by the author and Jack Scholten.

¹⁴ Regionaal Archief Leiden (RAL), archief no.1004 (DTB Leiden), inv.no.13: Nederlands Hervormd Ondertrouw 1575-1795; Trouwen Gerecht N, juni 1642-juli 1647, f.92v.

disclosing his source.¹⁵ If he is right, Fresneau must have been born between March 1615 and March 1616, probably in Selles-en-Berry, the present-day Selles-sur-Cher. But the place of his birth cannot be confirmed, as in the baptismal registers of this town the years 1614 to 1616 happen to be lacking.¹⁶ Moreover, if Fresneau was really born in Selles, his family must have lived there for a short time only, as there is also no trace of the christening of his sisters. Or was his birthplace perhaps another Selles: Selles-Saint-Denis, in the neighbouring Sologne?¹⁷

¹⁵ Servaas van Rooijen, 'Biographische bijdragen', p.38: 'Fresnau [eau] (Johannes) – "Luytenist", 28 jaar Leyden 18 October 1645. Hij en zijne vrouw Annet Asselings [...] maken testament te Leiden'. In the testament to which he refers (see below), Fresneau's age is not mentioned. Servaas van Royen obviously saw a document which was not found by the present author. Or is this simply a mistake?

¹⁶ François-Pierre Goy searched the extant baptism registers from 1608 until the time of Fresneau's marriage: Blois, Archives départementales du Loiret, E dépôt 242/1 (November-December 1608, October 1612-13, 1617-October 1629), E dépôt 242/2 (October 1629-May 1636) E dépôt 242/3 (September 1635-September 1645); the parish registers of the Loir-et-Cher department are all digitized at <http://archives.culture41.fr/archive/recherche/etacivil> (as the foliation of the registers may be erratic, reference will be made afterwards to the scan number of the digital file). In these registers, the name Fresneau was found just once, on 21 October 1639, when Louise, daughter of Estienne Fresneau and Michelle Chichery, was baptised (E dépôt 242/3, scan 111).

¹⁷ There are some tenuous hints that point to this alternative. First, the surname Fresneau was found there a little more frequently than in Selles-sur-Cher, though there is no proof that the individuals in question were related to the lutenist (Blois, Archives départementales du Loiret, GG 241/1: scan 103, baptism of Jehan, son Jehan de La Borde and Michelle Fresneaud, 23 September 1631; scan 98, baptism of Simon, son of Jehan Fresneaud and Silvine Callat, 21 April 1631; scan 123, Françoise Fresneau is godmother on 26 November 1644; scan 133, baptism of Pérette, daughter of Jehan de La Borde and Michelle Fresneau, 31 August 1645). More interesting is the fact that one of Johannes Fresneau's sisters had unusually received the double name Catherine Blanche. Most children in the first half of the 17th century were given just one name, usually that of the godfather for boys and that of the godmother for girls. Thus, her godmother could well have been Catherine Blanche de Choiseul (c.1590-1673), who had married in 1610 the local lord Jacques d'Étampes (1590-1668), marquess of La Ferté-Imbault and Mauny (the castle of La Ferté-Imbault stood in the parish of Selles-Saint-Denis). This lady was the godmother of another Catherine Blanche, daughter of Charles Papillon, sieur de La Graffardière, christened on 6 March 1630 (GG 241/1, scan 79). In any case, the possibility that Johannes Fresneau's birthplace was Selles-Saint-Denis cannot be confirmed either, as the baptism registers for this parish are lost from 1603 to September 1627 and from 1632 to October 1643. I would like to thank François Pierre Goy for this information.

Another possibility, although less likely, is that Selles-en-Berry was not Fresneau's native town, but his last residence before coming to the United Provinces. In that case, he might have been in the service of the Count of Selles, the diplomat and art collector Philippe de Béthune (1565-1649). Finally, it is worth noting that a Jehan Fresneau was organist in Paris between 1602 and 1635 – perhaps a relative?¹⁸

Be that as it may, it is certain that in 1644 the lutenist Johannes Fresneau was living in Leiden. In the marriage document it is mentioned that at the time he was staying in Breestraat, where he probably rented rooms; his name is nowhere to be found in the Leiden registers of house owners.¹⁹ A certain Johannes Pinsdee acts as his witness, a physician from Calais who in January 1649 married Johanna den Dubbelden in Leiden; he died before December 1650, when his widow remarried.²⁰

Something is also known about Fresneau's bride. Anneke was the daughter of Andries Asseling and Maria Dircxdochter van Croonenburch. Andries was the leading instrument maker in Leiden, building lutes, citterns, viols and violins for almost half a century. Around 1600 he had moved to town from his birthplace, Stettin in Pomerania, and in 1602 he was able to buy a house on the chic Rapenburg (nowadays no.96).²¹

¹⁸ The names of four children of this Jehan Fresneau are known: Jehan, born 1603, probably the same as the Jehan who died 1628; Catherine; Marie, born 1632; and Philibert, born 1635. Yolande de Brossard, *Musiciens de Paris 1535-1792* (Paris, 1965), p.128.

¹⁹ On these registers, the 'oud-belastingboeken' and 'bonboeken', see E.T van der Vlist, 'De bonboeken te Leiden', in *Bronnen betreffende de registratie van onroerend goed in Middeleeuwen en het Ancien Régime*, ed. G.A.M. van Synghel (Den Haag, 2001), pp.83-107.

²⁰ RAL, archief no.1004 (DTB Leiden), inv.no.200: Schepenhuwelijken (1592-1795), vol. D (1646-1661), f.38r ('Jan Pinsede', living at Rapenburg), and f.76r ('Johan Pinsdij'). I would like to thank Jack Scholten for this information.

²¹ On Andries Asseling and his sons, see Burgers, *The lute in the Dutch golden age*, pp.151-153. Asseling's street number was not no.69, as is erroneously stated there on p.151 (see: Chr.C. Vlam, 'De werkplaats van Hendrik Asseling, Leids vioolbouwer (1625-1673)', *Mens en Melodie* ix (1954), pp.12-15, at p.12). His mysterious birthplace 'van Uytstede in Pomeran', as written in the registration of his marriage in 1607, is interpreted by Jack Scholten, probably correctly, as Stettin: a confused clerk was presumably responsible for the garbled 'van uyt Stede' (email of 2 September 2014).

Andries died in 1655,²² and was succeeded in the instrument building trade by his sons Melchior and Hendrik.

Some time after their marriage, on 18 October 1645, Fresneau and Anneke Asseling made their last will and testament, in which they appointed each other as sole heir if one of them were to die, with the provision that from the legacy of the deceased the children born from the marriage would receive a proper education and a trousseau at their wedding; if one spouse died without leaving children, the parents of the deceased had a right to the children's legitimate share.²³ Fresneau signed the document *J Fresneau*, in bold italics (Fig. 2). His wife Anneke was obviously not able to write; she signed the document by putting a cross.

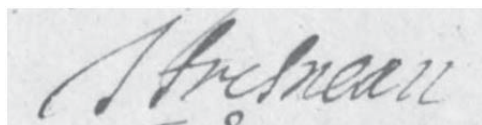


Fig. 2. Signature of Fresneau, 18 October 1645.

Just a few days later a daughter was born, Maria, who was baptised on 4 November 1645.²⁴ The ceremony was performed in the Roman Catholic church at Bakkersteeg. This is interesting because, as far as we know, Anneke Asseling was a Calvinist, a member of the Dutch Reformed Church; her parents most certainly were. This can therefore only mean that Fresneau was a Catholic.

After this, we hear nothing from Fresneau and his family for rather a long time. No further children were born, or at least they are not recorded in the Leiden registers, and no further mention has been found of his wife Anneke Asseling and their daughter Maria; as we shall see, they are not mentioned in his will of 1669. One wonders what was their fate. Did they die, perhaps in the heavy outbreak of the plague that ravaged Leiden in 1652-5, especially in 1654 and 1655, when some 23,000 inhabitants

²² Vlam, 'De werkplaats van Hendrik Asseling', p.12. Servaas van Rooijen, 'Biographische bijdragen', p.34, states that Andries had died sometime between 25 July 1654 and 8 July 1658.

²³ RAL, archief no.506 (Notarissen ter standplaats Leiden; Oud Notarieel Archief), inv.no.726: notaris Willem van Vredenburg, 1645, no.247.

²⁴ RAL, archief no.1004 (DTB Leiden), inv.no.290: Dopen en trouwen RK gemeente; Kerk aan de Bakkersteeg 1642-1661, not foliated. As a witness acted a certain Elisabeth Quirens (Quijnings), also called Elisabeth van Slingelandt, who on 24 April 1646 was married to Adriaen (Ari) Roest, a merchant from Amsterdam (registered in the same volume; also in inv.no.199: Schepenhuwelijken (1592-1795), Trouwen Gerecht C, juli 1633-juli 1646, ff.153 onwards, and f.220r).

passed away, a quarter of the town's population?²⁵ Their names are not found in the burial registers of the town, so we cannot tell for sure.

Whatever may have happened, Johannes Fresneau lived on, and he stayed in contact with his wife's family. On 8 November 1657 he took from Cornelis Willemszoon van Witsenburch a rent ('losrente') of 200 guilders, a large sum, to be repayed in yearly instalments of 10 guilders; his surety was given by Maria van Croonenburch, widow of Andries Asseling. He signed the deed *Joannes du fresneau* (Fig. 3).²⁶ This transaction seems to indicate that Fresneau was rather well-to-do; he certainly was not a poor man.

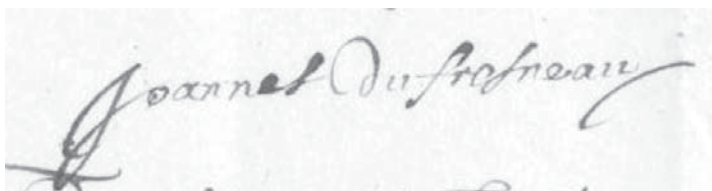


Fig. 3. Signature of Fresneau, 8 November 1657.

On 3 July 1665, together with his brother-in-law Hendrik Asseling, he was involved in the transfer of the legacy of the by then deceased Maria van Croonenburch, to the under-age children of Melchior Asseling, Hendrik's brother. We read that Fresneau and Hendrik Asseling have been summoned to render account to the guardians of the children, from which we may deduce that they had administrated the goods involved.²⁷

At the end of 1669 Fresneau's health had seriously declined. He then lived in a house at Steenshuur, and it is there that the public notary Cornelis de Haas found him on 25 November, at about four o'clock in the afternoon, on a chair near the fire, physically sick but with a clear mind

²⁵ Leo Noordegraaf and Gerrit Valk, *De gave Gods. De pest in Holland vanaf de late middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam, 1996²), pp.231, 233.

²⁶ RAL, archief no.506 (Notarissen ter standplaats Leiden; Oud Notarieel Archief), inv.no.214: notaris Kaerl Outerman, 1629-1669, no.124.

²⁷ Den Haag, Haags gemeentearchief, Notarieel archief Den Haag, inv.no.490 (notaris Johannes Wichmans), ff.214-214v. It seems that on 23 April 1670, a few days after Fresneau's death, the matter was settled, when Hendrik Asseling paid the children 160 guilders, being their legitimate portion of the testament of Maria van Croonenburch; in this deed, Fresneau's name is not mentioned (RAL, archief no.506 (Notarissen ter standplaats Leiden; Oud Notarieel Archief), inv.no.1050: notaris Cornelis de Haas, 1670, no.114).

and memory.²⁸ The notary had been summoned to draw up Fresneau's last will and testament. In the document, no mention is made of Fresneau's wife and child. He leaves rather considerable sums to Hendrik Asseling (100 guilders) and to a certain Jacobus Buyck (400 guilders). Furthermore, Fresneau had lent 1000 guilders to monsieur Du Breuil in Orléans, and the interest of that sum goes to his three sisters Catharina, Catharina Blanche (married to monsieur Consion) and Johanna; his sisters are also his universal heirs. He appoints Jacobus Buyck as the executor of his last will, who should also take care to buy a grave for his body in one of the main churches in Leiden, for a period of at least 20 years. Fresneau signed the document *Johanes Fresneau*, in a shaky hand, a clear indication of his bad health (Fig. 4).

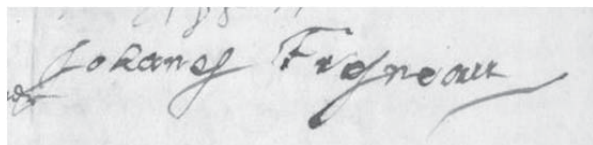


Fig. 4. Signature of Fresneau, 25 November 1669.

After a time Fresneau obviously had second thoughts about his testament. On 18 January of the next year, notary De Haas again visited his house at Steenschuur, at about seven o'clock in the evening.²⁹ The ailing lutenist still had a clear mind and memory, but he now was lying in his bed. Fresneau changed some clauses of the earlier testament, the most important being that Monsieur Anthonis de Pon was appointed as executor in the place of Jacobus Buyck, while his legacy to Buyck was also revoked. De Pon is now the sole heir of his goods and chattels in Holland, while Fresneau's sisters will inherit his goods in France. Furthermore, Fresneau leaves an oak cupboard and a silver cup and platter to Hendrik Asseling; to a certain Adam Guldenarm he bequeaths his bed and bedclothes. The signature, *Johanes Frrenau*, has a rather irregular orthography, and appears to have deteriorated even further than a few months earlier (Fig. 5). Evidently Fresneau was very much affected by his sickness.

²⁸ Details from the last will and testament drawn up by the notary: RAL, archief no.506 (Notarissen ter standplaats Leiden; Oud Notarieel Archief), inv.no.1049: notaris Cornelis de Haas, 1669, no.125.

²⁹ RAL, archief no.506 (Notarissen ter standplaats Leiden; Oud Notarieel Archief), inv.no.1050: notaris Cornelis de Haas, 1670, no.12.

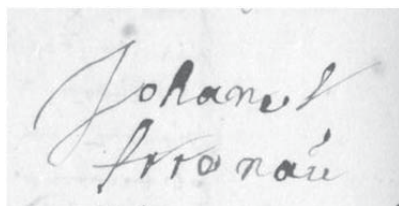


Fig. 5. Signature of Fresneau, 18 January 1670.

It is likely that afterwards Fresneau summoned notary De Haas two more times to change his testament, but these changes were obviously discarded. In the index to the notary's register of 1670 are two entries on 27 January, mentioning a last will and testament of Johannes Fresneau; but in the register itself these texts are not present.³⁰ What we do find there is an inventory of the goods and chattels that were found in the house of the deceased 'monsieur Frenou' (Appendix I). This inventory is dated April 22, so Fresneau had died shortly before. From the inventory we get the impression that he was at the time of his death not really poor, but nor was he very wealthy. Apart from the usual furniture (such as an oak table and four Spanish chairs, and some kitchen utensils), he owned five paintings (one of them a crucifixion, the other four were 'small ones'), two complete suits (one grey and one black) and very little other clothing, for instance three old pairs of black trousers. Furthermore the inventory mentions 50 books – unfortunately, no titles are given –, a box with some music books and leaves, and a number of musical instruments, which are listed as '12 lutes, good and bad ones, 2 theorbos, 2 basses, a guitar, two citterns, and two old instruments'.³¹

These documents from the end of Fresneau's life give us some valuable information. It seems that his wife and child were definitely no longer among the living. His nearest relatives are his brother-in-law and his three sisters, who obviously were living in France, where he still owned some goods and rents. Incidentally, it seems that his youngest sister Johanna was staying in Leiden in 1651, as on 27 September of that year a

³⁰ RAL, archief no.506 (Notarissen ter standplaats Leiden; Oud Notarieel Archief), inv.no.1050: notaris Cornelis de Haas, 1670, at the front of the volume, unfoliated: '[...] Dito [= 9 January]. Uijterste wil monsieur Johannes Frenouw – N.^o 12. [...] 27 januari. Testament monsieur Johannes Frenou – N.^o 24. Dito, uijterste wil van voors. Frenou – N.^o 25'. A contemporary marginal note indicates that these texts nos. 24 and 25 are missing in the register itself: 'N^o 24 en 25 is er nijt'.

³¹ '50 boucken, soo groot als kleijn. / 12 luytten, soo goet als quaet. / 2 theorbes. / 2 bassen. / Een guittern. / 2 cijters. / 2 ouwe instrumenten. / Een coffer met eenige muijsieckboucken ende blaaderen.'

certain 'Anna Frennou' acted as a witness at the baptism of a son of Hendrik Asseling and Catharina Vermeulen.³²

In Fresneau's testament, we also hear of some Leiden acquaintances and friends. Jacobus Buyck, his first executor, has not been found in the archives up to now, but his successor in that function, Anthonij du Pon, is known to have been a dancing master from Brussels, who in 1661 in Leiden married Margriet Balman from Guelders.³³ Du Pon was still living in Leiden in 1676; he died before 1696.³⁴ Another friend of Fresneau was Adam Guldenarm, who was a brandy salesman living at Steenschuur;³⁵ it was in his house that Fresneau's belongings were catalogued after his death. In the inventory of goods is mentioned that Fresneau had orally bequeathed three porcelain dishes to 'Monsieurs Du Pon ende Vanden Brouck'; the latter, again not identified, probably was also a friend of his.

In the Leiden documents we also find a person with a name similar to Johannes Fresneau. This is a certain Jean de Frenoy, who on 8 November 1660 acted as a witness at the baptism of a child of Pierre Delmondel and Josine Paul van den Bos (du Bois).³⁶ Probably a relative of this Jean de Frenoy was Nicolas Frenoj, who on 22 October 1662 married Agathe Adrienne: Jean Delmondel and the same Josine Paule van den Bos acted as witnesses.³⁷ When Nicolas's children were baptised in 1663 and 1664, Radegonde 'del Mondel' and Robert 'Dellemondel', respectively, were witnesses.³⁸ It seems rather unlikely that Jean de Frenoy is the same as our lutenist Johannes Fresneau: not only are their surnames different, but also

³² RAL, archief no.1004 (DTB Leiden), inv.no.222: Dopen Pieterskerk 8 juni 1644-29 febr. 1664, f.88r.

³³ RAL, archief no.1004 (DTB Leiden), inv.no.200: Schepenuwelijken 1592-1792; Trouwen gerecht D, aug. 1646-aug. 1661, f.334r.

³⁴ Du Pon bought a house at the Commandeurpoort on 26 May 1667. He had died before 8 May 1696, when his widow Margriet Balman sold the house in Kloksteeg that Du Pon had bought on 28 June 1670 (RAL, archief no.501A: Stadsarchief van Leiden II, inv.no.6614: Bonboek, Tweede Register, ff.100, 172).

³⁵ Information from Jack Scholten.

³⁶ RAL, archief no.1004 (DTB Leiden), inv.no.304: Doopboek RK gemeente; Kerk De Zon, 1654-23 Sept. 1683, p.55. The mother is called 'Joesine van den Ber', but the last name should be read as 'Bos', as is clear from the other instances she is mentioned in the sources.

³⁷ RAL, archief no.544B (Parochie van OLV Hemelvaart (Mon Pèrkerk) en de H. Joseph, 1654-1958), inv.no.9: Trouwen RK gemeente; Kerk De Zon, 1654-1727, p.17. Here we read Josine's name again incorrectly, as 'Josine Paule van der Boer'.

³⁸ RAL, archief no.1004 (DTB Leiden), inv.no.304: Doopboek RK gemeente; Kerk De Zon, 1654-23 Sept. 1683, pp.78 and 90 respectively. On 25 July 1668, another child of Nicolas Frenoj ('Fenoij') is baptised; witness is again Josine Paul (p.118).

we hear nothing of Nicolas Frenoy or the Delmondel friends in Fresneau's last will and testament. This in spite of the fact that, according to Vlam, Jan de Mondel was a relative of Hendrik Asseling.³⁹

Johannes Fresneau: His Works

The figure of Johannes Fresneau is of interest especially because his music has survived in some quantity; see Appendix II for a List of works. We started with the pieces in Goëss I, copied in the Netherlands, probably in Utrecht, in the 1660s. In this manuscript are ten lute works that were composed by him.

Already mentioned is the second important source for Fresneau's music: the manuscript with the shelf mark 40626, which used to be in Berlin and after the Second World War turned up in Kraków (Fig. 6). This lute book was probably written in the late 1650s, as one piece in it, a prelude by Fresneau (no.23 in the List of works), is dated 17 June 1658. Another of his pieces was probably written in c.1660.⁴⁰ In this manuscript, all of Fresneau's works were written by 'hand B', the scribe who copied the greater part of the book.

Up to now, nothing was known about the background of the manuscript,⁴¹ but a close inspection of the handwriting brings us a great surprise. When we compare the composer's name as written in the manuscript by hand B with the three signatures by Fresneau from 1657, 1669 and 1670, the similarity of the handwriting immediately jumps to the eye. The signature from 1657 especially is very much like the names on, for instance, ff.39v, 48v, 51v, 62r and 67v of the manuscript (Fig. 7): compare the letter *a* with its thick ink dot at the top (such a dot is also often made at the end of the *e*); the oblique long *s* with its upward stroke at the end coming with a leftward turn from its tail; and the oblique stroke under the name at the right. Also characteristic is the use of the long *s* at the close of a word, for instance in *Johanes* in the signature of 1669 and in

³⁹ Vlam, 'Leidse viool- en klavecimbelmakers', p.107. The Dutch word 'neef', which is used to indicate Jan de Mondel's relation to Hendrik Asseling, can mean 'cousin' as well as 'nephew', but in a 17th-century text also simply 'relative'.

⁴⁰ No.31 of the List, the *Adieu* for 'Monsieur Pollcenis'; see below, p.264-265.

⁴¹ In *Berliner Lautentabulaturen*, Kirsch and Meierott think it probable, on the basis of its repertory, that the manuscript originated in France, although some connections with Germany and Austria can be assumed. This opinion is followed by Christian Meyer, *Sources manuscrites en tablature: luth et theorbe (c.1500-c.1800): catalogue descriptif*, iii/2 (Baden-Baden [etc.], 1999), p.147: 'Origine française (rédacteurs allemands ou autrichiens)'.

the words *Pollcenis* and *Lais* in the manuscript (ff.61v and 55v). The conclusion must be that the copyist B of 40626 is none other than Fresneau himself! Therefore, the part of the manuscript written by him most probably originated in Leiden 1658-c.1660.

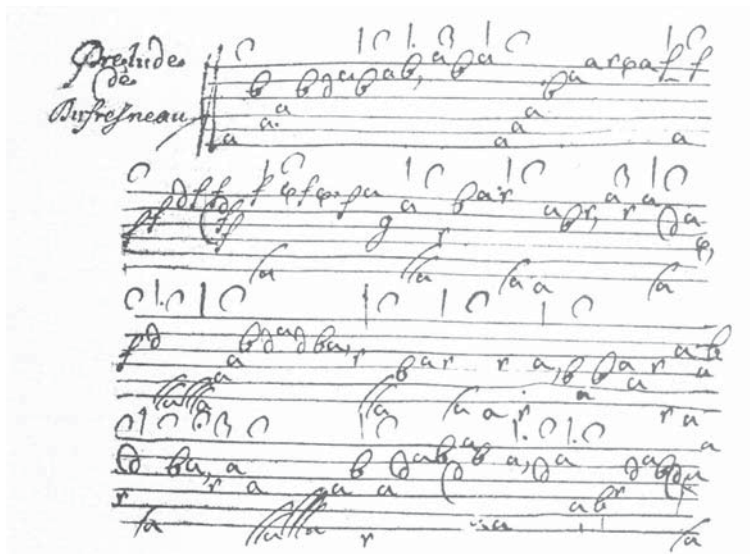


Fig. 6. Kraków 40626, f.58v, first page of a *Prelude de Dufresneau*.

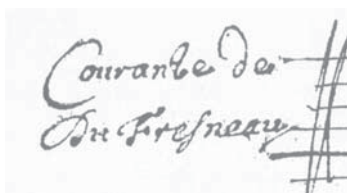


Fig. 7. Name of Fresneau in Kraków 40626, f.48v.

This Kraków manuscript 40626 contains 30 pieces ascribed to Du Fresneau or Dufresneau: 25 for lute and five for guitar. That this Du Fresneau is indeed the same person as the Leiden lutenist Fresneau is proven by a few pieces by 'Fresneau' in Goëss I that are also found in 40626 with an attribution to 'Du Fresneau'.⁴² The Kraków manuscript was started by an unknown scribe, hand A, who wrote 16 guitar pieces on ff.1r-

⁴² Nos.5, 13 and 20 in the List of works.

16r; all are anonymous, two can be ascribed to R. Mesangeau and G. Pinel by concordances. From f.16v he is immediately succeeded by the second scribe B, i.e. Fresneau. The latter wrote on ff.16v-22r another seven works for guitar, five of which he composed himself; the other two are ascribed to Gaultier and Dufaut. After that, ff.22v-32r are left blank; on ff.32v-68v Fresneau wrote out 50 lute pieces. Half of these are of his own composition, the others are ascribed to famous French lutenists of the period: Ennemond (Vieux) Gaultier, Denis Gaultier, François Dufaut, Pierre Dubut and Jean Mercure; a few pieces remain anonymous.

As is often the case in manuscripts of Baroque lute music, the pieces are arranged according to key, so that works with the same tuning are grouped together. First is a section of pieces in D minor (and in between one in F major), which is followed by a section of works in A major and F sharp minor, after which comes a group of pieces in B flat major (in a tuning with a raised sixth course, the so-called ‘ton Mercure’).⁴³ Each section starts with a series of works by Fresneau. At the end of the book is another small section of pieces in D minor (the only series of pages written by Fresneau in which no titles or composer’s names were attached to pieces), and finally another three pieces by Fresneau in F sharp minor.⁴⁴

The book was presumably meant for a pupil, as there are many playing directions for the left and right hand, *graces*,⁴⁵ and ‘hold’ strokes to clarify the voice leading. It is likely that this was the manuscript of an amateur player, who could very well have been a university student living for some time in Leiden. This pupil first took guitar lessons from one master, who wrote the first pieces; this is the unidentified scribe A.⁴⁶ Afterwards the pupil – maybe after having travelled to Leiden to study there – turned to Fresneau for further lessons on the instrument; the guitar pieces in Fresneau’s hand follow directly on from the pieces in the beginning of the

⁴³ 16 pieces in D minor on ff.32v-44r (and one work in F major on f.40); 14 pieces in A major and four in F sharp minor on ff.44v-58r (the latter in two groups amidst those in A major); seven pieces in B flat major on ff.58v-62r.

⁴⁴ Seven pieces in D minor on ff.62v-64r; three pieces in F sharp minor on ff.65r-66r.

⁴⁵ Fresneau writes the usual grace signs (the small curved stroke under and to the right of a letter indicating *appoggiaturas* from below and above, and a cross indicating a mordent), but also a horizontal wavy line to the left of or under the letter, possibly indicating a vibrato.

⁴⁶ Unless it was the pupil him- or herself who wrote these pieces; Kirsch and Meierott, *Berliner Lautentabulaturen*, p.4, judge that the handwriting shows signs of a rather unexperienced player, but this seems a bit far-fetched: the handwriting of the first scribe does not look particularly unschooled, compared for instance with that of Fresneau.

book. Later, or perhaps at the same time, he (or she, if not a university student) also took lute lessons from Fresneau; the pieces for this instrument were started in the second part of the book. The leaves that were left empty in between these parts were possibly meant for further guitar pieces. It was probably this pupil who wrote the date to the prelude by Fresneau mentioned before, as that note is not in his own hand.

Some of the music in Fresneau's hand is in a tidy script, but other pieces are written rather carelessly (Fig. 8), with a lot of corrections and even uncorrected errors, such as the garbled cadence in the Sarabande on f.35v (bar 7); these give the impression that Fresneau was not copying the music from an exemplar.⁴⁷ From this we could infer that he normally played the lute from memory, putting his music to paper only during lessons, for the benefit of his students – perhaps another reason, aside from the liberties copyists could take, why many of his pieces are found in more or less variant forms.



Fig. 8. Kraków 40626, f.47v, *Allemanda de Dufresneau*, first page, with fingerings for left and right hand, graces, 'hold' strokes and corrections.

⁴⁷ Such sloppy copying is known also from the autographs of other lutenists. John Dowland for instance, not only a lute player of the first rank but also an experienced composer, made errors when copying his own pieces for lute pupils (see Christopher Wilson, 'Dowland's grace notes', *Lute News* cxiv (July 2015), pp.12-19, at pp.12-14).

It is remarkable that in this manuscript, written probably shortly before 1660, Fresneau wrote his name as ‘Du Fresneau’, while most probably he was just called ‘Fresneau’, as this is how he signed his name in documents from 1645, 1669 and 1670 (but not in 1657) and as he is mentioned in the archival sources and in other lute manuscripts. Perhaps this form with ‘Du’ was used by him for a time in the 1650s as a kind of artistic *nom de plume*, being slightly more stylish and genteel than the simple ‘Fresneau’. In the archival documents as well as in his signatures, his first name is written as ‘Johannes’ (or variants: ‘Joannes, Johanes’);⁴⁸ he seems not to have used the common French form ‘Jean’ or the Dutch ‘Jan’ or ‘Johan’.

Finally, a few stray pieces ascribed to Fresneau are found in a couple of other manuscripts, dating from around the turn of the century.⁴⁹ These occurrences indicate that his music still was known a few decades after his death, also in other parts of Europe, as these manuscripts originated in Austria. One of the allemandes from Goëss I is also found in Goëss III and in Klosterneuburg; a sarabande from Goëss I and Kraków 40626 is also in Kremsmünster; an allemande and sarabande in D minor, known from 40626, are also transmitted in Kalmar (Sweden) 21072. These concordances are mostly anonymous; only the pieces in Kalmar 21072 are (presumably erroneously) ascribed to ‘Du Faux’ and ‘Du F’. An Allemande in F major by ‘Monsieur Fresneau’, a piece not known from other sources, is in Berlin, Singakademie 4060.

All in all we have 34 lute pieces and five works for guitar ascribed to Johannes Fresneau. This oeuvre is in the well-known *style brisé* of French lutenists of the period, and can easily hold its own in that illustrious company. Here we have mostly serious, profound music; it is characteristic that of the pieces for lute, no fewer than 20 are slow movements (nine allemandes, six sarabandes, four preludes and one chaconne), and only twelve are in a fast tempo (eight courantes, three giges and one bourree). This stands in stark contrast with other French composers; for instance, 50 per cent of the oeuvre of Ennemond Gaultier consists of courantes. The titles of some of Fresneau’s allemandes point to a tragic touch in his music or perhaps even in his personal life: we have a Tombeau (no.13), two different pieces called ‘Les Larmes de Fresnau’ (nos.13 and 14), and ‘La Complainte pour l’Adieu de Monsieur Pollcenis’ (no.31). Just as remarkable is the fact that 11 of the lute pieces by Fresneau, that is one third of his total known oeuvre, are in the dark key of F sharp minor, the so-called *ton de la chèvre* (nos.12-22); overall in

⁴⁸ Only once a notary wrote his name as ‘Johan’ (in the document referred to in footnote 26), but this was in The Hague, where he was not personally known.

⁴⁹ For these manuscripts, see Appendix II.

baroque lute music, pieces in this key make up a mere 2.3 per cent.⁵⁰ A couple of works by Fresneau are based on popular music: *La moutarde nouvelle* (no.38) is a tune which exists in many settings (often under the name *Cordon bleu*), as is the case with the tunes of *Gigue d'Angleterre* (no.27), *Les Marionnettes* (no.37) and *La Fronde* (no.29). *La Bouree de Baptiste* (no.9) is a lute version of an instrumental bourrée by Jean-Baptiste Lully.⁵¹

A special problem is posed by the five pieces for guitar bearing Fresneau's name. Kirsch and Meierott observe that they give the impression of being lute works transcribed for that fashionable instrument, mostly because the characteristic *rasgado* chords are completely lacking.⁵² On the other hand Fresneau surely played the guitar: we know from his inventory of goods that he owned one, and at least one pupil thought it a good idea to take lessons on this instrument with him.

Finally, we could point out that with his 'Adieu' for 'Monsieur Pollcenis' (no.31) Fresneau seems to stand in a Leiden lute tradition; Joachim van den Hove, too, wrote several farewell pieces. It could very well be that the dedicatee was a (foreign) University student at his departure from Leiden. However, this person is not easy to find in the registers of Leiden University, probably because his name is garbled in the dedication. The most likely candidate seems to be Georgius a Polsniz, a 'Polish' knight from Silesia, who matriculated on 27 September 1659 at the age of 28 years.⁵³ This is Georg Dachs von Polsnitz, a *Cavalier* from Rudelsdorf, from an elevated Schweidnitz family, who travelled

⁵⁰ The keys used in Baroque lute music have been listed by Arto Wikla (2011), on the basis of the database 'Music for the Baroque Lute' by Peter Steur (<http://mss.slweiss.de/index>); see <http://www.cs.helsinki.fi/u/wikla/mus/KeysOfBaroqueLute.html>, accessed 5 August 2013.

⁵¹ Herbert Schneider, *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Werke von Jean-Baptiste Lully (LWV)* (Tutzing, 1981), nos.31/26 and 75/41. There are other lute settings, some of them under the title *La Marianne*.

⁵² *Berliner Lautentabulaturen*, p.4.

⁵³ G. de Rieu, *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae 1575-1875* (Hagae Comitum, 1875), col.475: 'Georgius a Polsniz, Eques Silesius. 28, Pol[onus]'. A few days later, on 2 October, two more nobles from Silesia matriculated: 'Sigismundus Henricus, liber baro de Beveren ex Silesia, 21, Polonus', and 'Casparus Sigismundus de Schindel, nobilis Silesius, 22, Polonus', together with a servant. On that same day a third countryman inscribed: 'Gothofriodius de Zeidlitiz, Silesius, 24, J[uris]' (at the faculty of Law).

extensively all over Europe for over 20 years. He died in 1671.⁵⁴ The year of his matriculation leads to a dating of this piece around 1660; many foreign students stayed just for a short time in Leiden, or at most for a period of about four years.⁵⁵

Conclusion

At least from 1644 until his death in April 1670 the French lutenist Johannes Fresneau lived and worked in Leiden. As he never published any works, his music is only transferred in a handful of manuscripts, most of it in Goëss I and the autograph Kraków 40626. Fresneau was probably born around 1615-16 in Selles-sur-Cher in Berry; at the moment of his death his three sisters were still living in France. In Leiden, his marriage with Anneke Asseling connected him to the family of Andries Asseling, the leading instrument maker in town. Johannes Fresneau is the only Dutch lutenist who, after the heyday of Joachim van den Hove and Nicolaes Vallet, has left us a representative corpus of lute music.⁵⁶ With him an important lute composer can be added to the music history of the Dutch Republic in the Golden Age.

⁵⁴ Friedrich Lucae, *Schlesiens curiose Denckwürdigkeiten oder vollkommene Chronica Von Ober- und Nieder-Schlesien..* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1689), pp.1231-33.

⁵⁵ *Leidse universiteit 400. Stichting en eerste bloei 1575-ca.1650* (Amsterdam, 1975), p.48.

⁵⁶ A modern edition of his music is in *Johannes Fresneau, Complete works for Lute and Guitar*, ed. and introd. by Jan W.J. Burgers (Lübeck, 2016).

Appendix I

Inventory of goods and chattels of the deceased Johannes Fresneau, 1670

Regionaal Archief Leiden, Notarissen ter standplaats Leiden (Oud Notarieel Archief), archiefnr.506, inv.nr.1050, f.113.

22 april

Inventaris vande goederen gevonden ten sterfhuijsse van monsieur Frenou zaligher, ten huijsse van Adam Guldenappel, als volgt.

Een keldercas met eenigh linnewaaf, aen Henrick Asselingh gelegateert; hier ter gedachtenis.

Drie posseleijne schootels, monsieurs Du Pon ende Vanden Brouck mondelingh gelegateert; hier voor memori.

Een eijcke treck taafel.

Vier Spaensche stoellen.

1 arm stoel.

2 tafereelen, sijnde lantschappen.

Een braatpan ende leepel.

2 ijsere braatspeetges.

Een leij.

Een koper keeteltge.

Een tinne waaterpoth.

Een heugel, 1 tangh.

3 vlessen.

2 bottelges.

3 kannen met tinne leeden, ende 1 soutvath.

Een tinne booter poth.

1 koopere vijsel.

Een koopere broeder pan.

2 koopere kandelaers.

5 kleijne tinne schooteltges.

Een blick, een treghter, een lantarentje ende olipoth.

Een houtte kandelaer.

Een hout backje.

Een tafereel, sijnde Cristus aent cruijs.

Vier tafereeltges.

Een almenack.

Een keldertghe met 12 vlessen.

Een secreet koffertge.
 Eenige doosges.
 Een spiegeltghe.
 Een pack grauwe laacke kleederen.
 Een pack swarte kleederen.
 Een pack swarte greijne kleederen.
 Een couleurse greijne mantel.
 Een swart wambaijs.
 3 paer ouwe swarte hoosen.
 Een reijssack, een hentroock ende een seeme onderbrouck.
 Een paer roohoosen ende I saij kleethe.
 Een groen deeckentje.
 2 sitkussens.
 50 boucken, soo groot als kleijn.
 12 luijten, soo goet als quaat.
 2 theorbes.
 2 bassen.
 Een guittern.
 2 cijters.
 2 ouwe instrumenten.
 Een coffer met eenige muijsieckboucken ende blaaderen.
 Eenigh ander rommelingh.

Aldus gedaen, geïnventarieert bij mij Cornelis de Haas, notaris,⁵⁷ ten sterfhuijse vanden voornoemde monsieur Frenou, ten versoucke vanden heer Jacobus Buijck, binnen Leijden opden XXII^{en} april 1670, present Adam Guldenarm⁵⁸ ende Jacobus vande Velden als getuijghen hier toe versoght.

[signed:] Adam Gulden arm
 Jacobus vande Velde
 Twelck ick affirmeere Cornelis de Haas, notaris publiq

⁵⁷ Here etz, crossed through.

⁵⁸ Guldenarm corrected from Guldenappel.

Appendix II

List of Works by Johannes Fresneau

Works for lute and guitar ascribed to Fresneau/Dufresneau are found in seven manuscripts:

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| A-ETgoëssI | Ebenthal, Graf Goëss'sche Primogenitur-Fideikommiss-Bibliothek, Ms. I, c.1650-70; facs. ed. <i>The Goëss lute manuscripts I</i> , ed. Tim Crawford (München, 1988). |
| A-ETgoëssIII | Ebenthal, Graf Goëss'sche Primogenitur-Fideikommiss-Bibliothek, Ms. III, (Austria, possibly by Andreas Bohr, c.1693); facs. ed. <i>The Goess tablature manuscripts. Goess III</i> , ed. Albert Reyermann ([München], 1995). |
| A-KN1255 | Klosterneuburg, Bibliothek des Augustiner Chorherrenstifts, Ms.1255 (Austria, c.1700-10); facs. ed. <i>Das Lautenbuch Klosterneuburg A-KN 1255</i> , ed. Michael Treder (Lübeck, [2008]). |
| A-KR79 | Kremsmünster, Benediktiner-Stift, Regenterei oder Musikarchiv, Ms. L 79 (Père Ferdinand Fischer, c.1690-1710). |
| D-Bsa4060 | Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Singakademie), Ms.4060 (olim ZD 1792); facs. ed. online http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN687679826 . |
| PL-Kj40626 | Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Mus.Ms.40626 (olim Berlin, Preußische Staatsbibliothek), c.1650-60; facs. ed. <i>Berliner Lautentabulaturen</i> (see n. 6). |
| S-Klm21072 | Kalmar, Läns Museum, Ms.21072, 'Stahlhammer Manuskript (2)' (probably Austria, 1715). |

A. Works for lute

Pieces in A major

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| 1. Prelude | PL-Kj40626, ff.44v-45r: <i>prelude / de / Dufresneau</i> |
| 2. Allemande | PL-Kj40626, ff.47v-48r: <i>Allemande / de / Dufresneau</i> |
| 3. Courante | PL-Kj40626, ff.45v-46r: <i>Courante de / Dufresneau</i> |
| 4. Courante | PL-Kj40626, ff.48v-49r: <i>Courante de / Du Fresneau</i> |
| 5. Courante | PL-Kj40626, ff.52v-53r: <i>C Du Fresneau</i>
A-ETgoëssI, ff.22v-23r: <i>C. Fren</i> |
| 6. Courante | PL-Kj40626, f.56r/2: <i>Courante / de / Dufresneau</i> |

7. Sarabande PL-Kj40626, f.50v: *Sarabande / de / Du Fresneau*
8. Sarabande A-ETgoëssI, ff.23v-24r: *S. Frenau*
9. La Bouree de Baptiste [Lully] PL-Kj40626, f.57r/2; *La bouree / de / Baptiste / par / Dufresneau*
10. Chaconne PL-Kj40626, ff.46v-47r: *Chaconne de / Du Fresneau*
11. Gigue PL-Kj40626, ff.49v-50r: *Gigue de / Dufresneau*

Pieces in F sharp minor

12. Prelude A-ETgoëssI, ff.58v-59r: *Fren.*
13. Le Tombeau PL-Kj40626, ff.66v-67r: *Le Tonbeau de / Du Fresneau*
A-ETgoëssI, ff.20v-21r: *T F.*
14. Les Larmes de Dufresnau PL-Kj40626, ff.67v-68r: *Lais larme de / Du Fresneau*
15. Les Larmes de Fresnau A-ETgoëssI, ff.24v-25r: *Les larmes de Frenauv* (a different piece)
16. Allemande A-ETgoëssI, ff.21v-22r: *A Fren.*
A-ETgoëssIII, ff.72v-73r
A-KN1255, pp.47-48
17. Allemande A-ETgoëssI, ff.53v-54r: *Allem. / de Mr. / Fresneau*
18. Courante A-ETgoëssI, ff.39v-40r: *C Frenau*
19. Courante A-ETgoëssI, ff.47v-48r: *Cour / de mr. Fresneau*
20. Sarabande PL-Kj40626, f.68v: *sarabande / de Dufresneau* (with varied repeats)
A-ETgoëssI, f.48v/1: *Sarab. / de Mr / Fresneau*
A-KR79, f.92v/2
21. Sarabande PL-Kj40626, f.51r: *Sarabande / de Du fresneau*
22. Gigue PL-Kj40626, ff.51v-52r: *Gigue de / Du Fresneau*

Pieces in F major

23. Allemande D-Bsa4060, ff.136v-137r: *Allemande de Mons: Fresneau*
24. La Fronde PL-Kj40626, f.40r: *La fronde <mise> par / Dufresneau*

Pieces in D minor

25. Prelude PL-Kj40626, ff.32v-33r: *prelude / de / Dufresneau / le .17. Juin. 1658*
26. Allemande PL-Kj40626, ff.33v-34r: *Allemande / de / Dufresneau*
S-Klm21072, ff.8v-9r: *Allemand: Du Faux*

- 27. Courante PL-Kj40626, ff.34v-35r: *Courante de / Du Fresneau*
- 28. Sarabande PL-Kj40626, f.35v: *Sarabande / de / Dufresneau*
S-Klm21072, f.10r: *Sarrab: Du F.*
- 29. Gavotte [Gigue d'Angleterre] PL-Kj40626, f.39v: *Gauotte de / Du*
Fresneau

Pieces in B flat major

- 30. Prelude PL-Kj40626, f.58v-59r: *Prelude / de/ Dufresneau*
- 31. La Complainte pour l'Adieu PL-Kj40626, f.61v-62r: *La complainte*
de Monsieur Pollcenis / de dufresneau / pour Ladieu de /
Monsieur Pollcenis
- 32. Courante PL-Kj40626, f.62r/2: *Courante de / Dufresneau*
- 33. Sarabande PL-Kj40626, f.59r/2: *sarabande de dufresneau*

B. Works for guitar

- 34. Allemande PL-Kj40626, f.20v-21r: *Allemande / de / Dufresneau*
- 35. Courante PL-Kj40626, f.19v-20r: *Courante de / Dufresneau*
- 36. Sarabande PL-Kj40626, f.22r: *Sarabande / de / dufresneau*
- 37. Les Marionnettes PL-Kj40626, f.16v: *Lais marionnaite / de /*
Dufresneau
- 38. La Moutarde Nouvelle PL-Kj40626, f.17v-18r: *Lamoutarde /*
Nouuelle de / Dufresneau

‘MAKE LONG FORGOTTEN MUSICAL HERITAGE RESOUND ANEW’: THE GHENT LUTE MANUSCRIPTS¹

GREET SCHAMP

There are eight tablature manuscripts in the Ghent University Library, B-GuHs.3898, until recently catalogued as *Muziek voor luit. Handschrift 17e-18e eeuw* (‘17th and 18th century lute manuscripts’).² The earlier classification of the manuscripts as ‘Music for lute’ is somewhat misleading, as the collection also contains: three tablatures for diatonic cittern; a collection in *alfabeto* for baroque guitar; two tablatures for baroque harp and two tablatures for two different types of baroque lute. The manuscripts contain pieces rarely found in sources from the Southern Netherlands. The 21 remaining items in B-GuHs.3898 are also music, but not for plucked instruments, the topic of this paper. The eight manuscripts that concern us here are:

Hs.2 for eleven-course baroque lute in D minor tuning

Hs.3 for baroque guitar

Hss.4 and 14 for baroque harp

Hss.10, 11 and 12 for diatonic cittern

Hs.15 Ballet de l’archeducq Leopold, par B. Richard, for 12-course baroque lute

Until they were rediscovered in December 2011, these manuscripts were all but unknown, and had never been the subject of research. They are not included in the RISM (*Repertoire International des Sources Musicales*) or

¹ I would like to thank Monica Hall for supplying Fig. 5, Israel Golani for supplying Fig. 6, Johan Eeckeloo for supplying Fig. 8, Andrew Hartig for supplying Fig. 11, and Jo van Herck for supplying Fig. 12.

² Online facsimiles are available at:

<http://search.ugent.be/meercat/x/all?q=Hs.+3898+&count=10&filter>, as at 4 March 2015.

in any other published catalogues. The baroque lute pieces of Hs.15 were added to the manuscript database managed by François-Pierre Goy and Andreas Schlegel in early 2013 as 51-B-Gu Hs.3898/15.³ My first published article about this discovery appeared in the *Belgian Lute Academy 2012 Yearbook 'Geluit-Luthinerie'*.⁴

This research seeks to demonstrate the significance of these eight manuscripts to the musical culture of the Southern Netherlands in the 17th century by addressing the following questions:

- What was the context in which the tablatures were used?
- Were there functional relationships between these manuscripts?
- Who were the scribes?
- Who played them?
- How did they sound?
- What can we learn from the notation, including the fingerings?
- Was their historical and artistic importance strictly local, or were they relevant throughout the Netherlands or even in a wider European context?
- Do the hitherto unknown song melodies in these sources correspond to lyrics without music in the Nederlandse Liederenbank or Dutch Song Database (<http://www.liederenbank.nl>)?

The goal of this work is to resurrect this long-forgotten musical heritage by means of a rigorous investigation of the sources, followed by production of critical playing editions and recordings of the pieces. This study promises to provide valuable insights into the use and evolution of the various tablature systems and playing techniques for these four instruments.

Hs.15 contains the 'Ballet de l'archeducq Leopolde', and is undoubtedly the most important manuscript, with Balthasar Richard as the only named composer. The work is an intabulation for twelve-course baroque lute in an experimental tuning, of a lost ballet dedicated to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (1647-52).

³ <http://www.accordsnouveaux.ch/de/Abhandlung/Quellen/Quellen.html>, as at 4 March 2015.

⁴ Edition of the Belgische Luitacademie/Publication de l'Académie belge du Luth, pp.2-5 in Dutch, pp.6-8 abstract in English, pp.19-20 abstract in German.

1. B-Gu Hs.3898/2

B-Gu Hs.3898/2 (41 pages, oblong octavo) is a manuscript with tablature for eleven-course baroque lute in D minor tuning. Most pieces in the manuscript are named according to their musical form, Sarabande, Courante, Chanson and Bouree and so forth, though some have more descriptive titles such as ‘La Moustarde’ and ‘Branl de Tarene’.

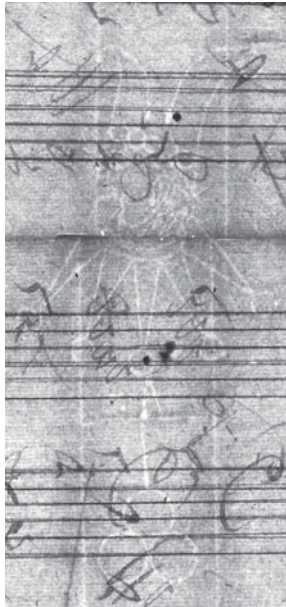


Fig. 1. Watermark from B-Gu Hs. 3898/2. © UGent University.

One promising avenue of research are the Flemish harpsichord and carillon manuscripts containing pieces bearing the same titles.⁵ Notably, these latter manuscripts also have similar watermarks (Fig. 1).

F.-P. Goy has traced one concordant piece in the Ghent tablatures, which he includes in his forthcoming *catalogue raisonné* of Gaultier's works (Fig. 2): B-Gu Hs.3898/2, ff.40v-41r, [no title or ascription]

⁵ *Arendonk Ms*, ed. G. Spiessens and I. Cornelis (Peer, 1989; Zuid-Nederlandse Klavecimbelmuziek, Monumenta Flandriae Musica 4) and the manuscripts for carillon such as the so called ‘versteek-boeken’ by Hendrick Claes, c.1616-1636 and Théodore de Sany, 1648 Brussels, as well as Philippus Wyckaert, *Den Boek van den voorslach van Ghendt*, 1681.

(incomplete; measures 1-16 only, and from measure 9 on without rhythm signs; variants fj) is concordant with VII.7. 'Gigue anglaise' (F major), Gaultier and an otherwise unspecified Gallot.



Fig. 2. B-Gu Hs. 3898/2 ff.40v-41r. © UGent University.

Moreover, there are instructions for tuning the baroque lute, at the beginning, as well as at the end of the manuscript. The inclusion of such didactic material suggests that the manuscript served as a study book for amateurs (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3. 'L' Accord' from B-Gu Hs. 3898/2 f.1r. © UGent University.

There are possible similarities with another Flemish lute manuscript: the Botnia Ms (GB-Lbl Add 16889) in the titles of pieces and the use of special tunings as in the 'Ballet' Hs.15. The Ghent Hs 2 manuscript uses a paper called *livre blanc*. This appears to be the same kind of paper used in a similar manuscript preserved in Switzerland.⁶

⁶ Ms Zürich Q 907, given a provisional name nr PAP-94 in Guillo's catalogue. This information was kindly communicated by email by Andreas Schlegel, 17 January 2012.

2. B-Gu Hs.3898/3

B-Gu Hs.3898/3 (11 pages, oblong octavo), for five-course baroque guitar, is notated in a system called *alfabeto*. This system consists of letter symbols that specify chord positions for the left hand along with instructions as to which direction one has to strike the strings with the right hand, and in what rhythm. The pieces have mainly Italian and Spanish titles: ‘Follia’, ‘Gagliarda’, ‘Canario’, ‘La dona mortalle’, ‘Lanturlulu’ (Figs. 4 and 5), ‘La mantouana’, ‘La moda’, ‘La marcheta’, ‘Cara deta bondi’, ‘Il ballo di mantoua’, ‘Romanesca’, ‘Giolieta eperina’, ‘Pauaniglia p[er] O’, ‘La rundinella’, ‘Balletto del Granduca’. See Appendix 4 for possible concordances.

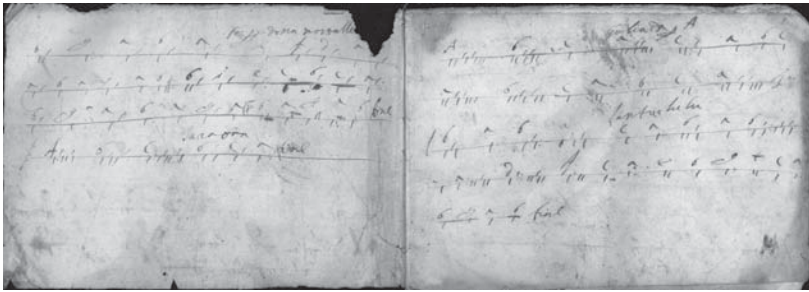


Fig. 4. ‘Lanturlulu’ from B-Gu Hs. 3898/3. © UGent University.

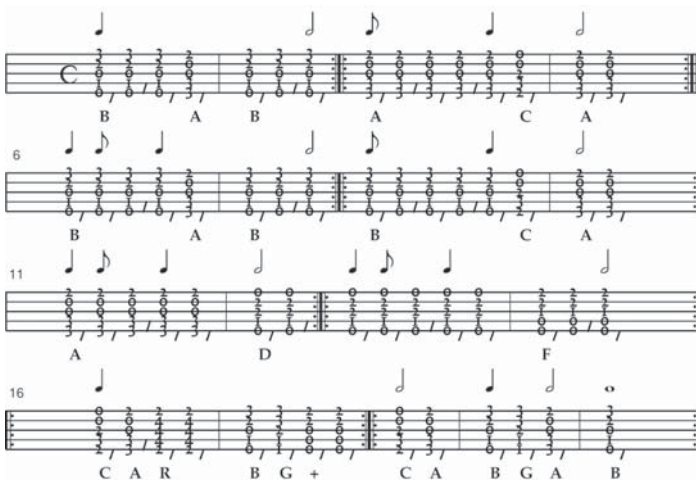


Fig. 5. Transcription of L’anturluru by Monica Hall, B-Gu Hs. 3898/3, f.2.

The manuscript also includes two pieces with (Eastern-)Dutch or German titles 'Geklap seij dir o her [?] den [?][.. ?]' and 'Der Scheck' (f.10v), and the words 'Bekenne ich oud' (f.12v). This is intriguing, as it indicates an origin in, or a possible connection with, the Netherlands and/or Germany. Alongside all these *alfabeto* pieces is one written in Italian tablature, but bearing the same title as the *alfabeto* piece on f.1v, 'Se dona mortalle' (Fig. 6).



Fig. 6. B-Gu Hs. 3898/3 f.10v -f.11r. Gent University.

The Royal Library (KB) in Den Haag, Netherlands, possesses a baroque guitar manuscript by Isabel Van Langenhove from around 1635 (Ms.133 K 6).⁷ This manuscript also originates from the Southern Netherlands and is written in French tablature with *alfabeto*-like signs indicating the direction of the strokes. A comparison with Hs.3 should be made (Fig. 7). In his *Recueil des pièces de guitare*, published in 1729, François Le Cocq, *musicien jubilaire de la Chapelle Royale à Bruxelles*, also used French tablature. Le Cocq used note stems to indicate the rhythm as well as the direction of the strokes. However Ghent Hs.3 seems to be of an earlier date.

In Belgium manuscript sources for baroque guitar are extremely rare. James Tyler cites only one specimen, in the Brussels Conservatory library B-Bc FA VI. Study of this manuscript (Fig. 8) showed that it is not for baroque guitar but for the tromba marina: this came to light thanks to the kind help of Andreas Schlegel and Thilo Hirsch, a tromba marina player⁸.

⁷ Digital images of parts of this manuscript can be found at http://www.mediafire.com/view/6spwfy14ynrmylu/MS_ISABEL_VAN_LANGHE_NHOVE__1635.pdf, as at 4 March 2015.

⁸ Thilo Hirsch thinks it is for tromba marina, on the basis of a tablature in a picture by N. de Larmessin 'Habit de musicien', at

The Ghent *alfabeto*, is therefore, the only baroque guitar manuscript in Belgium. Clear watermarks are present, which will be of help in identifying the manuscript's origin.

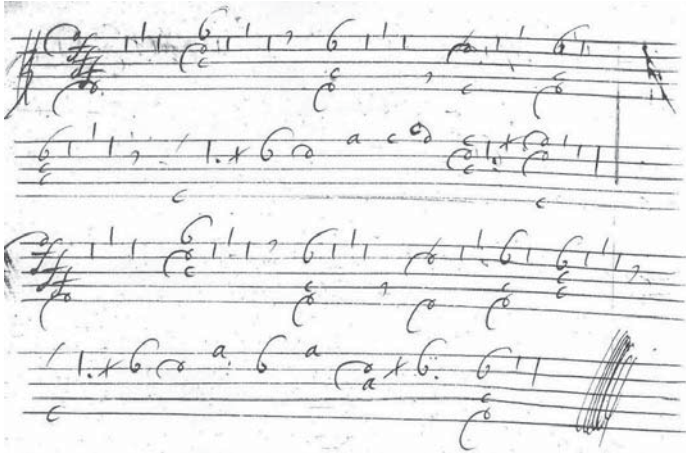


Fig. 7. MS Isabel Van Langenhove c.1635, Ms. 133 K 6

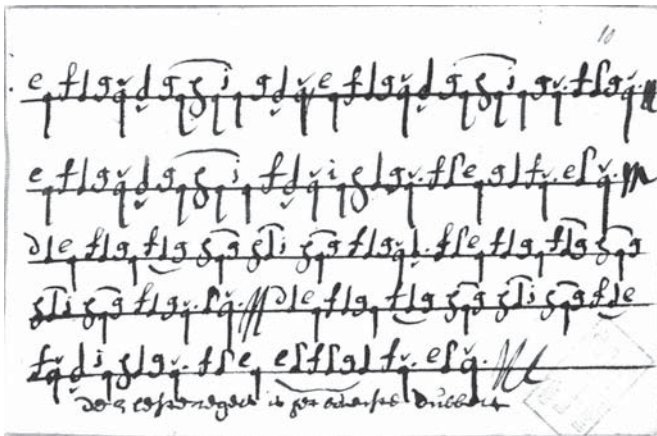


Fig. 8. Example from B-Bc FA VI 8 for tromba marina. Brussels conservatory library.

<http://www.rimab.ch/content/bilddokumente/GE/larmessin-nicolas-ii-de-1638-1695-habit-de-musicien/ge-00170-01/view>, as at 4 March 2015. You can hear him playing this instrument at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wIBolbo24Rc>.

The manuscript's playing indications, together with the octave tuning of the bass-courses, produce a campanella effect, perceived only in listening, hence the value of including a sound recording of the music in the definitive study.⁹

3. B-Gu Hs.3898/4

B-Gu Hs.3898/4 contains one page with Spanish text and cipher tablature for the Spanish baroque harp, intended as an accompaniment to the songs 'Ya que aqueste penasco' and 'Con la vida de Benito' (one quarto page) (Fig. 9a). The four lines represent the four voices of the harmony. Number 1 means F, 2 G, and so on up to 7 which is E. The dots and inner lines serve to distinguish the octaves. *P* and *Y* mean *pulgar* (thumb) and *índice* (index finger). The texts underneath correspond to the song to be sung to this accompaniment. Unfortunately, the melody is not included.

The text alone, however, is intriguing, particularly of the first song, 'Ya que aqueste penasco'.¹⁰ This same title is mentioned in the correspondence between Constantijn Huygens and Sebastien Chièze, in which Huygens asked Chièze to send him Spanish music from Madrid.¹¹ The fact that this page was folded in eight, and obviously was put into an envelope of some sort, suggests that this manuscript was possibly sent as a gift to someone - maybe to Huygens himself? Huygens wanted to learn how to play the guitar, although this venture did not prove wholly a success. One can even imagine that his correspondent, not being a musician himself, but a diplomat, would not have been able to tell the difference between harp and guitar music, due to this mysterious tablature notation.

⁹ See also A. Hartig, 'Hidden techniques: octave ambiguity and open strings', *Lute Society of America Quarterly* xlviii/3 (2013), pp.16-23, about this octave tuning of the courses.

¹⁰ See Appendix 1.

¹¹ I would like to thank Francisco Valdivia for his contribution concerning the early guitar and harp, for the music example he contributed for Appendix 1, and for drawing my attention to R. Rasch, 'Music in Spain in the 1670s', *Anuario musical* lxii (Dec. 2007), in which are listed and discussed the various remarks about music in Spain that can be found in the correspondence between Sébastien Chièze (envoy on behalf of William III, Prince of Orange in Madrid) and Constantijn Huygens (The Hague) from 1672 to 1679. Huygens had the habit of using his musical contacts – both amateur and professional – to acquire music from abroad, most often in the form of handwritten copies of airs or instrumental pieces.

Scabaxan 4 1

6. 6. 6. 7. 1. 6. 6. 6. 6. 6. 7. 7.
 4. 4. 4. 5. 5. 4. 3. 3. 4. 4. 5. 4.
 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 2. 3.
 2 6 1 2 6 8 1 2 3 4 2 3 4 2 3

ya que este peñasco es muy asombrado y agitado por el viento

6. 6. 6. 7. 1. 6. 6. 6. 6. 6. 7. 7.
 4. 4. 4. 5. 5. 4. 3. 3. 4. 4. 5. 4.
 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 2. 3.
 2 6 1 2 6 8 1 2 3 4 2 3 4 2 3

el benero monte de la Cruz

Scabaxa 4 1 -

6. 6. 6. 7. 1. 6. 6. 6. 6. 6. 7. 7.
 4. 4. 4. 5. 5. 4. 3. 3. 4. 4. 5. 4.
 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 2. 3.
 2 6 1 2 6 8 1 2 3 4 2 3 4 2 3

Con la vida de Benito se caso en mar y en ton

6. 6. 6. 7. 1. 6. 6. 6. 6. 6. 7. 7.
 4. 4. 4. 5. 5. 4. 3. 3. 4. 4. 5. 4.
 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 2. 3.
 2 6 1 2 6 8 1 2 3 4 2 3 4 2 3

de los los avaros e la lara e efelma y or

6. 6. 6. 7. 1. 6. 6. 6. 6. 6. 7. 7.
 4. 4. 4. 5. 5. 4. 3. 3. 4. 4. 5. 4.
 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 2. 3.
 2 6 1 2 6 8 1 2 3 4 2 3 4 2 3

con un benero se caso en mar y en ton an ton

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Fig. 9a. 'Ya que aqueste peñasco' and 'Con la vida de Benito' from B-Gu Hs.3898/4.

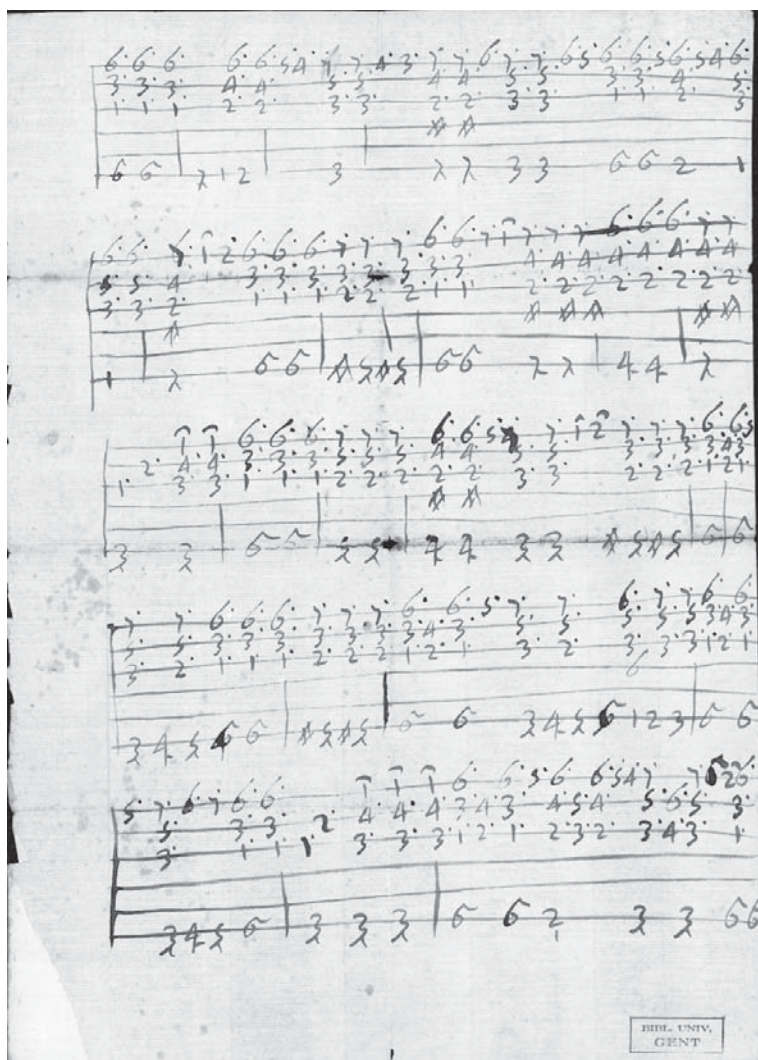


Fig. 9b. harp solo from B-Gu Hs. 3898/14. © UGent University

4. B-Gu Hs.3898/14

B-Gu Hs.3898/14 also contains music for baroque harp (Fig. 9), on one quarto page of the same type of paper, without watermark or text, but in the same hand. Harp scholars and early harp players such as Véronique

Musson-Gonneaud, (Paris)¹² Francisco Valdivia and Cristina Bordas are quite excited about this find. The two folders of tablatures for baroque harp (*cifra de arpa*) are unique, and among the earliest music scores for this kind of harp (see Appendix 1 for a transcription of ‘Ya que aquesto’). These pieces are interesting for another reason, as possible evidence of an exchange of music between Spain and the Netherlands during this period.

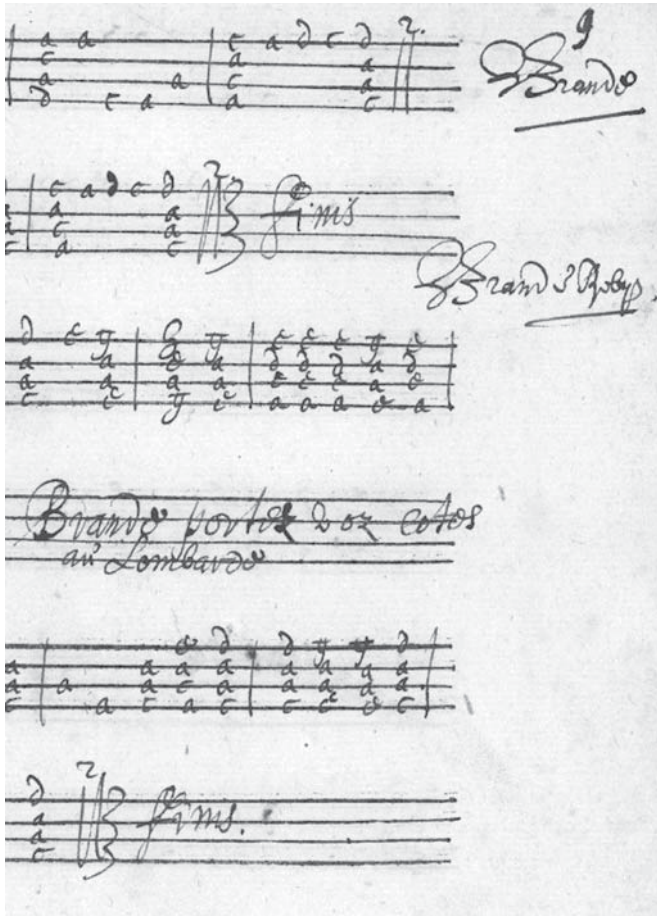


Fig. 10. B-Gu Hs. 3898 /10 f.9. © UGent University.

¹² In email correspondence received of 2 November 2012 she states: ‘je me souviens qu’en Flandres, on dit qu’il y avait des harpes chromatiques, peut-être même les premières, et des exemplaires de musique annotés qui ont disparu’.

5. B-Gu Hs.3898/10, B-Gu Hs.3898/11, B-Gu Hs.3898 /12

B-Gu Hs.3898/10 (31 pages, octavo), B-Gu Hs.3898/11 (8 pages, octavo), and B-Gu Hs.3898 /12 (12 pages, oblong octavo). These three manuscripts are letter tablatures for four-course diatonic cittern, which have between them a number of pieces in common. Although the Franco-Flemish cittern was a widespread folk instrument in the 16th century, it is remarkable that so little music is preserved for it in manuscript form. The titles of the pieces imply an origin in the Netherlands. There are many similar pieces in the Thysius lute manuscript and the Phalesius prints, for example *Hortulus Cytharae*, published in Leuven by Pierre Phalèse and Jean Bellère in 1570. There is also a relationship between the titles and some religious contrafacta songs from the 17th century; similarly named songs are mentioned in the *Boeck der Gheestelijck Sanghen* by the friar Lucas Van Mechelen (1631), in staff notation with superius and bassus (see titles in Appendix 5). In Appendix 2, there is a list of titles, Flemish as well as international ones, from the cittern manuscripts. The tablature has no rhythm signs, but most of them can be reconstructed easily, as Andrew Hartig has already done for a number of the pieces that will be available on request.¹³ The tuning of the third and fourth courses in octaves, as well as the use of whole and half-tone frets, give left-hand chord shapes that were often easier for amateurs to play than identical harmonies on other plucked instruments (Figs. 11 and 12).



Fig. 11. Fret pattern of a diatonic cittern.



Fig. 12. Tuning of the Flemish cittern.

¹³ *Renovata Cythara: The Renaissance Cittern Site*, ed. Andrew Hartig: <http://www.cittern.theaterofmusic.com/articles/fretting.html> as at 4 March 2015.

6. B-Gu Hs.3898/15

One quarto sheet for 12-course baroque lute, containing the ‘Ballet de l'archeducq Leopolde by B. Richard’. Although only two pages long, this source is probably one of the most interesting manuscripts in the entire collection. An unicum, it contains the name of the composer, Balthasar Richard, an important figure in the Southern Netherlands musical heritage. From 1620 until after 1660, so for more than 40 years, he was held in high esteem as a cornetto player at the court in Brussels. Richard is not known to have played the lute, so the intabulation may have been made by a lute player at the court, either on behalf of Richard, or for the player’s own use. The intabulation seems to be very accurate as there is only one mistake: a wrong bass note in bar 9 of the Entrée (see Appendix 3, the score with a transcription of the piece from Hs.15). The embellishments are quite elaborate, with double appoggiaturas and trills that are well adapted to the instrument. Some voices are not so complete as they would have been in the original music, which was probably written for string orchestra, but this is due to the limited possibilities of sustaining notes on a lute.

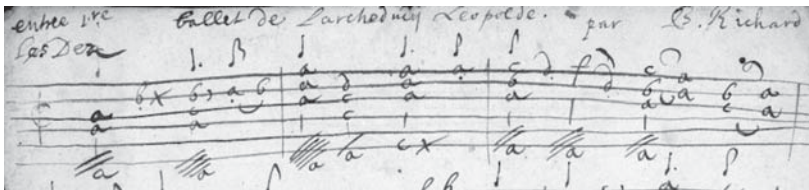


Fig. 13. ‘Ballet de L'archeducq Leopold par B. Richard’, from B-Gu Hs. 3898/15. Gent University.

The title contains a dedication to an equally famous historic personage and art patron, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria (Fig. 13). Whether the titles ‘Les Dez, Berguière, Les artes’ and ‘Le maille’ are excerpts from a ballet such as the lost *Balet du monde* is unknown. The *Balet du monde* was performed in 1650, together with the opera *Ulissee* by Guiseppe Zamponi. It was the first opera in Brussels performed for the wedding of Philip IV, cousin of Leopold-Wilhelm with Maria Anna of Austria. Since the orchestral scores of this *Ulissee* are preserved in Vienna,¹⁴ probably the Archduke took them with him on his return there. The opera received its modern premiere in Belgium on 26 February 2012 in Liège, under the baton of Leonardo Garcia Alarcon¹⁵. However, all the music of the *Balet*

¹⁴ Wien, Nationalbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, MS 10.044

¹⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CyhzCNkN7Mw>, as at 4 March 2015.

du monde and of the other ballets from the Brussels court were believed to have been lost, until the discovery of B-Gu Hs.3898/15.

This manuscript is the first example in Belgium of a work written for twelve-course lute in an exceptional 'transitional tuning' (one of the so-called *accords nouveaux*, used from 1624 to about mid-century, and occasionally as late as 1710) (Fig. 14).

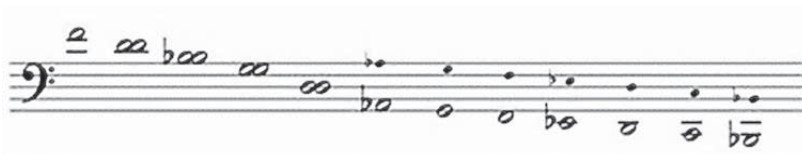


Fig. 14. Tuning of the twelve-course baroque lute in the *accord nouveau* used here.

Until now, only three pieces, in two different sources, are known in this particular tuning.¹⁶ One of the other sources discovered so far using this tuning, is London, British Library Add. MS 16889, the Botnia manuscript. This manuscript probably originated in Mechelen. Frederik van Botnia, the original owner, died in Leuven (Louvain), in the Southern Netherlands. The Botnia MS also contains music in D minor tuning, in addition to the above-mentioned special tuning used in the 'Ballet de l'archeducq Leopoldé'. Further research may unearth more similarities.

The paper with watermark, on which this Ballet is written, was folded in eight (like the harp music) and is possibly a copy, given to someone as a present. Thanks to the specific dedication to the archduke, who was the Austrian Governor in the Southern Netherlands from 1647 to 1656, and the mention of the name of the composer, assigning a more precise date to this manuscript is easier than to the rest of the manuscripts. Retracing the origins of this manuscript presents an interesting challenge. Few compositions by B. Richard survive, and none for lute. We know of lute players working 'freelance' at the court. Jacques de St. Luc was in Brussels on 5 December 1647 and Albert von Hessen on 12 June 1649. The Ballet again illustrates a clear link between the Ghent manuscripts and the Southern Netherlands, as in the case of the guitar and cittern manuscripts.

It is hoped that the findings of this artistic research project will lead to a better understanding of the plucked instrument performance practice in the Southern Netherlands in this period.

¹⁶ Three pieces in two sources: c.1650-60, 24-D-Ngm 8 and 1676, in 16-Botnia (all in E flat major); email correspondence of 1 April 2012, with Andreas Schlegel.

Appendix 1

Transcription by Francisco Valdivia of the harp Ms. B-Gu Hs.3898/4

Ya que aqueste peñasco

B-Gu HS 3898

Tonada de Hidalgo

Ya que a-ques - te pe - ñas - co cu-ya es-me-ral - da bru - ta, pe-da - zo de - sa-

Arpa HS 3898

4

Tonada

si - do del ve - ne - no - so mon - te de la lu - - na

Arpa

Concordances for ‘Ya que aqueste’ mentioned in his doctoral thesis, by F. Valdivia:

P-EVp CL 1/2-1, III, f.1r (music); E-Mn M 2478, f.56r (text and ciphers); E-Mn Mss 14031¹³, ff.146v-147r (text and ciphers); E-Mn Mss 14851, f.28r (text ‘to the tune of’).

Appendix 2

Titles of the cittern music from Hss.10, 11 & 12

International repertory:

Passemezo & Guillarde Italien; Les bouffons; La Valet; Brande; Pavane d'Espagne; Si c'estoit pour mon pucelage; Adieu nymphe du bois; Den Mourissendans; Brande commun; Brande Ingleterre (= Sellengers round) ; Un jour dedans la prerij trouva ienneton; Brande portez voz cotez au Lombarde.

Flemish titles:

Van den brouwers cnape; Te Cortrycke binnen de mueren; Visser seydt sij, visscher; Kinderen blickt den Thuijn; Wie sal dees blomkens plucken; Daer is een bootgen commen in 't landt; Van ste Jobsliedeken; Den boeren dans; Den doot dans; Wie sal mij troetelen; Een jonghman binnen Ghendt; Ick ben nu ghedachtich; Betteken track naer Mariemont; Brande Waerom en gaet den waghen niet voort; Jan de nivelle; Ick saij, ick maij; Isabelle; Jan van liere; Ghevalt hem claijs; Pater doet open de poorte; Jerusalem ghij schoone Stadt; Mijnen soeten inghel; Graef Willem sat op soldere; Belle Calis of o kindeke Jesus; Meijsken luijet u deurken toe; Eer dat ick wist waer dat was; Maria Schoon.

BHSL HS.3898/10 Muziek voor luit [manuscript] 17e-18e eeuw. 31 pp.; 8°.

Grey highlight means the piece has been transcribed in Fronimo.

| p. | no. | MS title | standardized title | concordances | other notes |
|-----|-----|--|--------------------|--|---|
| 1 | 1a | Les Bouffons | | gittern:~ MS 3898-11 #1a
~ MS 3898-12 #1a | Thysius f.1-f.2 La chasse
Thysius #551? |
| | 1b | Si vous estes belle
[=Les Bouffons, 2nd half] | | lute:
gittern:~ MS 3898-12 #1b "Le Boufon"
~ MS 3898-11 #1b 'le double Boufon'
~ Phalese 1582 'Si vous estes belle Almande' f.69v | 2nd part of 'Le Bouffons'
Thysius: si vous estes belle f.365
Passamezo antique chord scheme |
| | 1c | Bouffons diminuez | | see #1 | |
| 2 | 2 | Venus goddess | | | |
| | 3 | Myn droefheyt moet ik
clae ghen | | gittern:
rel. to MS 3898-12 #9 | compare Rothschild MS 'Allemande fortune helas pourquoy'
OGE9
#50. Fortun, eilaes, porquoy. 1631.
Vgl. VD. I. 492-96, III. 2162. |
| 2-3 | 4 | Van den Brouwers
cnape | | | |
| 3 | | Guillarde Maskers | | | compare lute versions of
'Bergamask'
also cf. Bergamask pieces in MS 11 and 12. |
| 4 | 5 | La gillomette | | | Thysius f.510v La Guillemette A.4
(Ebran) Land 121 |

| p. | no. | MS title | standardized title | concordances | other notes |
|----|-----|---|--------------------|--|--|
| | 6 | Te Cortijcke binnen
de mueren / courande | | | |
| | 7 | Visser seydt sy,
visscher | | | |
| 5 | 8 | Mon?varle que scait il
faire / Courande | | | Thysius Almande Mon varle f.474 (5
versions)
Stalpart EC 1631 p.358 Mon vallet
que peut il faire
Land no 312 |
| | 9 | Almande Belle | | <u>cittern</u> : ~ Rothschild MS
'Allemande de la torche' | thematically related to Phalese
1582[5] 'Branle de Malta', f.81? |
| | 10 | Courante | | | |
| 6 | 11 | Almande Geldre | | | Thysius f.508 Allemande Geldre
Land 307 |
| | 12 | Schoon figuree | | | |
| 7 | 13 | T' kindeke is ons
gheboren - | | | Thysius #498, 499??? |
| | 14 | Adieu Nympe du bois | | <u>cittern</u> : cf. MS 3898-11 #12
cf. MS 3898-12 #23 | |
| 8 | 15 | Almande fleur | | <u>cittern</u> : rel. to Phalese 1582
'Almande Fleur' f. 71v
NOT rel. to #59 'Almande fleur
anderseyns' ??? | Thysius f.482-483
F-Pn Rothschild I 411 |
| 9 | 16 | Brande | | | |
| | 17 | Brande Robyn | | | |
| | 18 | Brande portez voz
cotez au Lombarde | | | |

| p. | no. | MS title | standardized title | concordances | other notes |
|----|-----|------------------------------|--------------------|--|--|
| 10 | 19 | Kinderen blickt den thuijn - | | | |
| | 20 | Almande Nouvelle | | <u>cittern</u> :
~ Phalese 1570, 'Almande', f.51v | |
| 11 | 21 | Guillaerde qui passe | Chi passa | see also #42 | Thysius f.7-12 Chi passa
Phalèse LTM 1568 f.62v, 82v
Vreedman CC 1569 f.41v
Phalèse BellèreHC1570 f41 TM1571 f100 |
| | 22 | Brande Ingleterre | | <u>cittern</u> : cf. Vreedman 1569, 'Branle d'angleterre', f. 21v
rel. to Phalese 1582, 'Branle d'Angleterre', f. 82
<u>lute</u> : Thysius #760-764, Brande d'Angleterre', f. 442-442v | compare 'Sellenger's Round'
other cittern versions under 'Sellenger's round' – see concordances in Thysius #760 Land #389 |
| 12 | 23 | Pasemezo d'Italien | | | Thysius f.55 till f.89 |
| | 24 | Guillarde d'Italien | | | |
| 13 | 25 | Nieu Liedeken | | | |
| | 26 | Den slach van Labourlotte | | Brande bataille?
Battle La Bourlotte | http://www.liederenbank.nl
http://www.simonplantinga.nl/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/hbc.pdf |
| | 27 | Hughenote.. 4 ofte 5 reysen | | <u>cittern</u> :
NOT rel. to Rothschild #17 'Allemande la huguenotte' | Thysius: Brande Huguenotte f.461
Reysen = repeats |
| 14 | 28 | Guillarde prime. | | | |
| | 29 | Guillaerde Labouree | | | |

| p. | no. | MS title | standardized title | concordances | other notes |
|----|-----|---|--------------------------------|---|--|
| | 30 | Guillaerde france | | clittern:
NOT rel. to Rothschild #32
'Passemezo De france' | |
| 15 | 31 | Wie sal dees
blomkens plücken | | | |
| | 32 | Daer is een bootgen
commen int landt | | | |
| | 33 | Guillaerde commune | | = 'Cara cosa'? | Note the cut time symbol in a
galliard! |
| 16 | 34 | Pavane d'Esaigne | | | Thysius #240, 241??? |
| | 35 | Van ste Jobs lieden | | | St Job patron of the musicians
Thysius f.458r-v Confiteor de ma
jeunesse |
| 17 | 36 | Passemezo plaisir | | rel to 'pour un plaisir'? | Thysius #283? |
| | 37 | Den boeren dans | | clittern: NOT = Phalese 1582
'Den boeren dans', f. 79v | Thysius f.410-411 check #711, 712
and 722, 723 |
| | 38 | Den doot dans | | | Thysius f.337&416 Matachines,
Bofer op de persen f.351 (same
chord scheme La chasse-
passomezo Haubois) |
| 18 | 39 | Guillaerde qui me[n]
martyre | Belle qui me vas
martirant? | lute:
rel. to Thysius #46-50 'Galliard
Delle que me vas martirant', f.
14v-15v | MS-10 version missing a measure?
Harmonies slightly different than
Thysius. |

| p. | no. | MS title | standardized title | concordances | other notes |
|----|-----|--|--------------------|--------------|--|
| | 40 | Guillaerde wie sal mij troetelen | | | Thysius: f.24 or 24v Galliarde France
Gaillarde de la Roynie d'Escosse 13r-14v
f.25 bassus 25v tenor contratenor http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yep7XQNlmXw&feature=channel
version for quartet from Thysius
Thysius # 69?, 55, 56?, 71, 73, 75?
Phalèse TM 1563 |
| | 41 | Guillarde Italie(?) op ander maniere | | | |
| 19 | 42 | Guillaerde qui passa op andere manier | | see also #21 | Thysius f.7-12 Chi passa
Phalèse LTM 1568 f 62v, 82v
Vreedman CC 1569 f.41v
Phalèse BellèreHC1570 f41 TM1571 f100 |
| | 43 | Galliarde Passamezo au bois | | | missing measures? compare #44.
many 'haubois' in Thysius... |
| 20 | 44 | Op ander manier - | | | deselve |
| 20 | 45 | Passamezo au bois | | | many 'haubois' in Thysius... |
| - | 21 | | | | |
| 21 | 46 | Passamezo au bois op andere manier | | | |
| 22 | 47 | Ander passemezo d'Italie | | | |

| p. | no. | MS title | standardized title | concordances | other notes |
|----|-----|---|--------------------|--|---|
| 23 | 48 | Noch ander maniere van Passamezo d' Italian / Passamezo De | | | |
| | 49 | Het segghen van alle gebeden (?) | | | |
| 24 | 50 | Almande d'Amour | | <u>cittern</u> : rel. to Phalese 1582 'Almande d'Amour' f. 72 ~ #64 'Almande Amour Anderseyns' | Thysius #s 846-849? |
| | 51 | Brande Amour | | <u>cittern</u> : ~ Phalese 1582 "Branle d'amour" f. 83v | NB octave displacement compared to Phalese 1582 version
Thysius: brande Amours f.450 |
| 25 | 52 | p. 25 Pavanne d'Espaigne - | | cf. MS 3898-12 | Thysius f. 140-142 |
| | 53 | Aenhoort liefste soet ofte. Een jonghman binnen Gendt [Ghendt?] | | | http://www.liederenbank.nl/
Cupido triomfant (84 songs)
234. 'Het is te Gent' in Simon Plantinga (see above). |
| 26 | 54 | Si c'estoit pour mon puissellage / Courante | | (cfr Besard?) | |
| | 55 | Den Mourissen dans | | | Thysius Moriskers brande, f.455 |

| p. | no. | MS title | standardized title | concordances | other notes |
|----|-----|--------------------------------------|--------------------|--|---|
| | 56 | Ick ben nu ghedachtich | | | http://www.liederenbank.nl/
title: Een Liedeken, van het soete Vlaenderlant <i>beginregel</i> : Ick ben nu ghedachtich / Den voorleden tijdt
<i>siglum</i> : <u>HOLb1640</u> ([1640 c] [c 1630-1640]) |
| 27 | 57a | Brande commun | | <u>cittern</u> : rel. to Phalese 1570 'Branle del duc'. f. 69v | Thysius #805? |
| | | La Reprinse [crossed out] | | | Crossed out version of 'Le reprinse' on the following page. Copyist accidentally copied the 3rd strain as the 2nd one – proof that the MS was copied from another source (either MS or printed)? |
| | 57b | La reprinse | | <u>cittern</u> : rel. to Phalese 1570 'Le saltarelle [del duc]'. f. 69v-70 | |
| | 58 | Almande fleur anderseyns | | <u>cittern</u> : NOT rel. to Phalese 1582 'Almande Fleur'. f. 71v???
NOT rel. to #15 'Almande fleur'??? | Thysius #850-852??? |

| p. | no. | MS title | standardized title | concordances | other notes |
|----|-----|--|--------------------|---|--|
| 29 | 59 | Betteken track naer Mariemont | La Dauphine | Bataille 1614 4/1 Ballet & Aïrs(3)1611 (1611), f15v [nr. 15] Fuhrman 1615 153/2 Ballet 11 Hove 1 f.38v Courante La Dolfinnee Vallet 1615 84/2 Ladaulphine A9 Veruliet 1621 14-15 Vocal Valerius 1626 40-41 La Dolphine Paris [no date] XI Courante La Daufinne Bredero 'Spaanschen brabant' 1617, v.666 | many results Betteken voer na marie mont: melody mentioned by Bredero in his 'Spaanse Brabander' v.666. Wie ghenoecht: La Dauphine VMinneg 1622 (1622)], f.34v [nr. 68] Text: 'Betteken voer no Marie mont, die vooren wil voor mee'. The second text line comes from an Antwerp play 'LAUW DEN DIEFLAYER Comd droncken in al Zingende' Bedrijf 2 'Tweede vertoning' (ca. 1705). |
| | 60 | Brande Waerom en gaat den wagen niet voort | | | Contrafact www.liederenbank.nl Groot is die Heer in zijnder kracht, / Hy [...] Clock VhSNL 1593 (1593), p171 [nr. 57] |
| | 61 | Brande Magdalon | | | |
| 30 | 62 | D'oude spaengnolette | | | Thysius #634??? |
| | 63 | Almande Amour Anderseyns | | <u>clittern</u> : rel. to Phalese 1582 'Almande d'Amour" f. 72 ~ #50 "Almande d'Amour" | Thysius #846-849; 836, 843-845; 898? |
| 31 | 64? | [untitled piece?] | | | (No page number) |
| | 65? | Passamezo da bois | | | |
| 32 | 66? | Balette | | | check var. Ballets in Thysius (No page number) |

Appendix 3

Transcription of the 'Ballet de l'archeduc Leopolde' by Balthasar Richard

with thanks to Piet Stryckers and Jo Van Herck.

Entrée 1^{re} Les Dez

The musical score is written for two staves, Treble and Bass, in a key of two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a common time signature. The score is divided into three systems, each starting with a measure number (1, 5, and 9). The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth, quarter, and half notes, as well as rests. Some notes are marked with an 'x' above them, possibly indicating specific performance techniques or editorial changes. The score concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

m.9 bas: D

2^{ième} berguière

The musical score for '2ème berguière' is presented in three systems, each with a treble and bass staff joined by a brace. The key signature is two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The notation includes various note values (quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes), rests, and accidentals (sharps and naturals). The first system consists of 4 measures. The second system, starting with a measure number '5' above the treble staff, consists of 4 measures and includes repeat signs. The third system, starting with a measure number '9' above the treble staff, consists of 4 measures and includes a slur connecting a note in the treble staff to a note in the bass staff. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

3^{me} les artes

The musical score is written for a piano and consists of three systems of staves. The key signature has two flats (B-flat major), and the time signature is 3/4. The first system (measures 1-3) features a treble staff with eighth-note patterns and a bass staff with whole and half notes. The second system (measures 4-6) includes a treble staff with eighth-note patterns and a bass staff with half notes and eighth-note patterns. The third system (measures 7-9) features a treble staff with eighth-note patterns and a bass staff with half notes. The score concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

4^{me} le maille

The musical score for '4^{me} le maille' is written for two staves, Treble and Bass, in a key of three flats (B-flat and E-flat) and common time. The score is divided into four systems, each with a measure number (6, 10, 14) at the beginning of the first staff of the system. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, accidentals, and dynamic markings. The first system (measures 1-5) features a melody in the treble staff and a bass line in the bass staff. The second system (measures 6-9) continues the melody and bass line. The third system (measures 10-13) shows a more complex melodic line in the treble staff. The fourth system (measures 14-17) concludes the piece with a final cadence in both staves.

Appendix 4

Baroque guitar Ms B-Gu Hs.3898/3: Contents

Comments by Monica Hall and Jan Burgers

| | |
|-------|---|
| f.1r | Follia / Galiarda / il canario |
| f.1v | se p[er] dona mortalle ¹ / Sarabra |
| f.2r | Galiarda p[er] A / Lanturlulu |
| f.2v | La mantouana / Mi de si de ro[.] / La manina |
| f.3r | nono [.] il uoi piceno / La moda / La marsceta |
| f.4r | Vn sospireto sol / Cara beta bondi |
| f.5r | il ballo di mantoua / Romanesca |
| f.6r | Giolietta e perina / Pauanilia p[er] o |
| f.7r | La rondinella / Ballo del Granduca p[er] b |
| f.8r | La sua Corenta |
| f.9r | bertazza comenza Godi Crudel ² / o di la boca ictesa |
| f.10r | I misterie damor |
| f.10v | geklap seij dir o hor den [.] / der Scheck ³ |
| f.11r | se p[er] dona mortalle ⁴ |
| f.12v | Bekenne ich oud ⁵ |

Notes

¹ ‘Se per donna Mortale’, compare Stefano Pesori, *Lo scrigno armonico* (no imprint, c.1648), p.19, compare f.11r.

² ‘Godi crudel’ in Remigio Romano (1616). A Bertazza or Bertazzina is a kind of dance based on a set sequence of chords. A version is in Pesori, p. 23. It is also in some of Millioni and Monte's little books and the words ‘Godi crudel’ in Remigio Romano can presumably be made to fit it.

³ Dutch or German titles; text and music by a different hand, obviously a later addition to the manuscript.

⁴ In italian tablature. Cf. f.2r.

⁵ Text only, Dutch?

Appendix 5

Den boeck der gheestelycke sanghen, 1631-74

By Pater Lucas van Mechelen, a capuchin friar, superius and bassus, in score.

Concordant tunes as in the cittern tablatures:

| | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|
| p.18 | Jan de nivelle |
| p.26 | La princess oft Thrompet Marine |
| p.57 | Het viel een hemels dauwe |
| p.59 | Maria schoone bruydt schoone coningin |
| p.64 | Maria schoon |
| p.72 | Jerusalem ghy schoone stadt |
| p.74 | la Valette |
| p.78 | Oorlof Calis bende |
| p.92 | Het viel in hemels dauwe |
| p.101 | Pater doet open de poorte |
| p.130 | Graef Willem sat op solder |

A NEWLY DISCOVERED DUTCH LUTE BOOK: MS ENKHUIZEN 1667-1

JAN W.J. BURGERS, LOUIS PETER GRIJP †
AND JOHN H. ROBINSON

In 2010 the Dutch folk musician Cor van Sliedregt made a remarkable discovery in the Westfries Archief in Hoorn. In a manuscript in the old archives of the town of Enkhuizen, shelfmark 1667-1, according to the inventory containing a ‘register of journeymen, artisans and suppliers of ships’,¹ he found a not inconsiderable amount of music: nine pieces for lute and some 50 monophonic instrumental pieces in staff notation. This music book can, as we will see, be placed in the Dutch town of Enkhuizen around the middle of the 17th century. The discoverer communicated his findings to the editors of the Nederlandse Liederbank in the Meertens Institute (Amsterdam),² and moreover graciously permitted us to present this hitherto unknown lute source here.

The manuscript measures 20.5 cm x 16 cm; it has its original parchment binding and two straps to fasten it. The book has 148 folios, consisting of 18 quires of four double leaves and one of two double leaves. The manuscript is mostly without folio or page numbers; foliation is only found in the part containing music. The completely uniform paper and original cover indicate that the manuscript was originally bound as an empty book, perhaps at the instigation of its first user. On one outside

¹ Hoorn, Westfries archief, toegangsnr.0120: Oud archief stad Enkhuizen 1353-1815(1872) (hereafter: OAE), 1667-1, ‘Register van werk- en ambachtslieden en leveranciers voor de schepen, 1728 tot 1747’, under ‘Stukken betreffende de echtscheiding tussen Wybrand Blom, raad-ordinaris van Indië, en Maria Haak, van 9 mei 1725 tot en met 11 april 1736’. The old archives of the town of Enkhuizen are kept in the regional Westfries Archief.

² <http://www.liederenbank.nl/bronpresentatie.php?zoek=1016421&lan=en>. Here there is also a provisional description of the source. (All digital sources were consulted between 8 and 12 August 2015.)

cover is the inscription: *Thema Boek beginnende met den 18e december 1703* ('Theme book beginning on 18 December 1703').³

The book has been used for two purposes: once as a music book, and once as a commercial book with notes about work done on ships and their equipment. The second user simply turned the manuscript upside down and started writing at the other end. Judging by the type of script and the character of the music, the musical part is older than the commercial part. The latter can assuredly be dated to the first half of the 18th century: it consists of notes pertaining to the years 1728-47, written by a single hand. As mentioned before, the pages are without folio or page numbers. The cover inscription is also at this end of the book. Before the first page, f.[6]r of the second quire, starting in July 1728, three folios were cut out: ff.[3]-[4] of the first quire as well as f.[5], the first leaf of the second quire. On the remaining stubs it can be seen that ff.[4]v-[5]v originally contained text, to which probably the inscription *Thema boek* and the date of 18 December 1703 refer. The notes starting on f.[6]r continue to the end of the seventh quire, f.[52]r. After this, the scribe left 39 pages blank, and in the eleventh quire added one more page of commercial notes, concerning the trade in white and brown pepper during the years 1716 and 1720-8. He wrote these notes on f.53v (counting from the other end of the book), which is the last page in the manuscript with music staves; definite proof that the 18th-century commercial notes are later than the music part of the manuscript.

It is this music part that concerns us here. Its first four folios lack folio numbers and music. They are followed by ff.1r-53r, each of which has four staves of six lines, drawn without a rastrum. It seems therefore that the book was started as a lute manuscript, and indeed on ff.1r-5v and 11r are nine complete lute pieces and one fragment of lute music; after that the staves are used to notate music in staff notation.

The first (unfoliated) pages of the book, ff.[i]r-[i]v, are left blank, but on f.[ii]r is a 'title-page' written in formal script which helps us to date and locate this music book: *Andreas van vossen / jungatur cum / Margareta vesterman / ut, quos junxit amor, quos hora novissima solvet* (Fig. 1). This somewhat rambling Latin means: 'May Andreas van Vossen be united with Margaretha Vesterman; that they, whom Love has united, may only

³ The meaning of the expression 'thema book' remains unclear. The Dutch word *thema* is very much like the English *theme*: 'subject of discourse, motif'. In Dutch, the word also can mean 'schoolopgaaf', that is 'school exercise' (*Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (gtb.inl.nl), s.v. 'Thema'); the specific word 'themaboek' thus means a 'schoolbook with exercises'. Perhaps the excised part of the manuscript contained such exercises.

be separated by the Last Hour [of Judgement Day]'. It seems that the inscription commemorates their engagement to be married, so it probably dates from not long before the wedding took place.

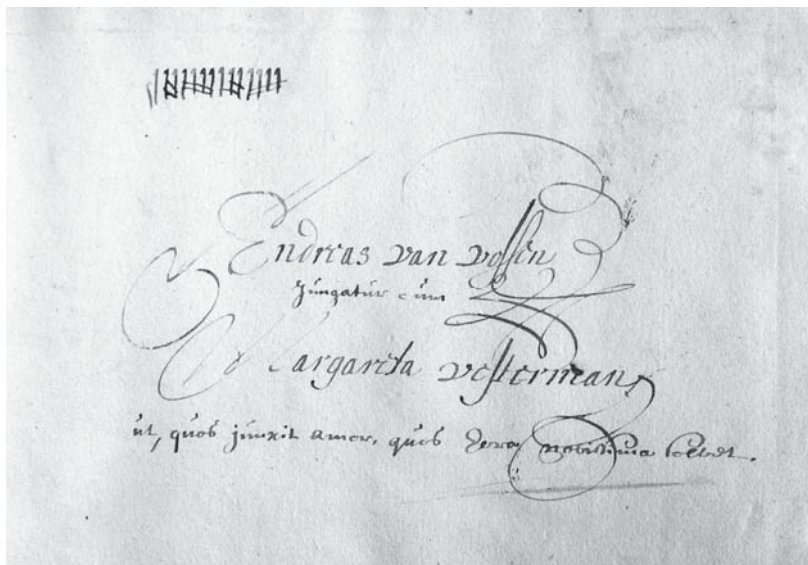


Fig. 1. 'Title-page' of the music book Enkhuizen 1667-1: *Andreas van vossen / jungatur cum / Margareta vesterman / ut, quos junxit amor, quos hora novissima solvet.*

Some information can be found about this couple. Both Andreas and Margareta came from patrician families of the town of Enkhuizen, members of which had been active as burgomasters and other magistrates.⁴

⁴ H.L. Kruimel, 'Mr Jan Andries Kluppel, 1783-1862', *De Navorscher* xcii (1950/51), pp.110-22, at p.115. Here, the wedding of Andreas and Margareta is incorrectly dated at 6 June 1657, an error that has been perpetuated in the usually trustworthy genealogical website by J. van Loosen, 'Enkhuizer Regentengeslachten' (<https://www.genealogieonline.nl/enkhuizer-regentengeslachten>). Genealogical information on Andries van Vossen and Margareta Vesterman and their offspring can also be found in A.G.Vosdingh Bessem, 'Parenteel Jan Albertsz Groot "presiderende burgermeester Ao. 1537" Enkhuizen', *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* xxiii (1969,) pp.238-324, and 24 (1970), pp.213-345, at 23, pp.274, 294, 317-18, and in Maurice M. and Marian W. de Wolf, 'Het Enkhuizer Regentengeslacht Van Loosen en aanverwante geslachten' *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* lxxxviii (1971), cols.238-90 and 302-24, at cols.277-9.

Andries (to use the more customary Dutch form of the name found most often in the sources), was baptized on 26 May 1637 as a son of Pieter Pietersz van Vossen and Teunisje Claesdr.⁵ He was destined to follow in the footsteps of his forebears, for which he received the proper education: in October 1655 he matriculated at the age of 20 at Utrecht university and two years later he continued his studies at the faculty of Law of Leiden university, where he was inscribed on 17 April 1657.⁶ These studies resulted in his title of ‘Master’.⁷

Andries van Vossen married Margareta Vesterman on 6 July 1659.⁸ The marriage took place in Oosterblokker, a village between Hoorn and Enkhuizen, but it had been announced on 21 June in Enkhuizen, where both were living.⁹ Margareta had been born in 1635, being baptized on 22 May as daughter of Pieter Pietersz. Dol and Aafjen Heeres Vesterman. She therefore took her mother’s surname, a not uncommon practice at the time, but in the sources she is also found as Margareta Pieters or Pietersdr; moreover, instead of Margareta often the more informal name Grietje is used.¹⁰ The couple was fruitful; between 14 July 1660 and 15 April 1676 they had ten children, eight or nine of whom survived infancy.¹¹

⁵ This and the following genealogical data were found in the reference works mentioned in the preceding note. They were all checked in the original registers of births, marriages and burials in Enkhuizen: OAE 1702-09 (Doo-, trouw en begraafboeken Enkhuizen), images of which can be consulted on the website of the Westfries Archief at <http://www.westfriesarchief.nl>.

⁶ *Album studiosorum Academiae Rheno-Traiectinae MDCXXXVI-MDCCCLXXXVI* (Ultraiecti, 1886), col.44: ‘1635, mense Octobri, Andreas van Vossen Enchusanus’; G. de Rieu, *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae 1575-1875* (Hagae Comitum, 1875), col.457: ‘Andreas van Vossen Enchusanus, 20, J.’

⁷ In the sources he is often mentioned as ‘Mr. Andries van Vossen’, already so in the registration of his marriage (see the next footnote). So he probably did not attain the title Doctor of Both Laws, as his son Pieter did in 1691 (OAE 1741, Stukken betreffende het geslacht Van Vossen (no.1826).

⁸ OAE 1702-24 (DTB Oosterblokker), inv.nr.2 (gereformeerde doop- en trouwinschrijvingen, 1657-1683), f.49v.

⁹ OAE 1702-9, inv.nr.48, f.91. Andries lived in the Oude Westerstraat, Margareta ‘opt Venedie’, both probably with their respective parents.

¹⁰ That Grietje Pieters is indeed the same person as Margareta Vesterman is ascertained in Kruiemel, ‘Kluppel’, p.115, and confirmed in some archival documents in which she figures as Grietjen Pieters Vesterman: OAE 1702-09, inv.nr.6, ff.178v and 188v.

¹¹ These were: 1. Aafjen (1660-1725); 2. Maria (1661-1713); 3. Petronella/Pieterkje (1664-1723); 4. Margareta (1665-1747); 5. Pieter (1667-67); 6. Cornelia (1668-1730); 7. Pieter (1670-1722); and 8. Nicolaas (1672-?); a ninth child who did not live, and 10. Wilhelmus (1676-after 1703). See also OAE 1741, ‘Verdeling der

Fig. 2. Signature of the town secretary Andries van Vossen (*Mij P[re]sent And: van vossen*) to a decision made by the town's government, 30 September 1670.

In the meantime, Andries's career as an Enkhuizen magistrate went well. He held several posts, some of them at the same time. At the latest from 1667 onward he was one of the town's secretaries,¹² in which post he remained until at least 1674 (Fig. 2).¹³ It is probably also in this capacity that he wrote and signed two notes by order of the governors of the town's orphanage (Fig. 3).¹⁴ Later he is also mentioned as a 'Raad' (councillor) in

goederen naargelaten bij de Hr. Burgermr. Andries van Vossen in dato den 9 Julij 1703').

¹² According to Vosdingh Bessem, 'Parenteel Jan Albertsz Groot', p.294, and Thijs Postma, '300 jaar secretaris van Enkhuizen' (<http://www.thijspostma.nl/Secrt-Enkhuizen.pdf>). Kruimel, 'Kluppel', mentions him as the town's pensionary, probably meaning the same as secretary.

¹³ OAE 345: 'Register van rekestten aan het stadsbestuur 1668-1708', unfoliated. In this book, requests to the town government are notated with its decisions in the margin, accompanied by the name of the secretary, often in his own hand. Mostly we see two or three secretaries working in the same period; in 1668-74 it is Andries van Vossen who signs the most documents, but thereafter he is also found, until 21 April 1681. From 22 November 1695 onward his son Pieter van Vossen signs decisions with many requests; unlike his father, he is sometimes explicitly called 'secretaris'.

¹⁴ OAE 1741, nos.27 and 56.

1679¹⁵ and burgomaster; he already held the latter post in December 1680, when he was appointed as one of the directors of the Enkhuizen Chamber of the Dutch East India Company.¹⁶ Furthermore, in 1681-5 he is mentioned as a churchwarden.¹⁷ Not only was Andries successful as a magistrate, he ensured that his children kept up the family tradition. His son Dr. Pieter van Vossen was town secretary from November 1695 onward and later burgomaster,¹⁸ his daughter Aafjen was married in 1683 to the burgomaster Pieter Dircxz. Haak, and other daughters also married well: Petronella in 1691 with the alderman Jan Kluppel and Margareta in 1693 with the timber merchant Dirck van Schaak.¹⁹

Andries van Vossen took no new civic responsibilities after 1693.²⁰ In late August or early September 1691 his wife Margareta had died, and he himself passed away in June 1702.²¹

It is of course very likely that the music manuscript was started in connection with, or at least in the same period as, the marriage of Andries van Vossen and Margareta Vesterman on 6 July 1659, and that the manuscript was in their possession. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that the title page is undoubtedly written by Andries himself: compare the name *Andreas van vossen* in the manuscript and the signatures we find in the administrative documents (Figs. 3-4), in which the complicated *A* and the variant forms of *v* in 'van Vossen' are very much alike. It is notable that on the title page Andries wrote a mixed type of script: cursive Dutch gothic (a type called 'secretary' in England) and a cursive italic. In his professional writing, as far as specimens have been found, he mostly writes in a rather untidy italic, but also uses gothic (as in Fig. 4).

¹⁵ Vosdingh Bessem, 'Parenteel Jan Albertsz Groot', p.294; Van Loosen, Enkhuizer Regentengeslachten'.

¹⁶ OAE 362: 'Officiantenboek 1682-1795', f.98: 'De Heer Burgermr. Mr. Andries van Vossen' took the oath as a 'bewindhebber' of the East India Company on 31 December 1680.

¹⁷ Vosdingh Bessem, 'Parenteel Jan Albertsz Groot', p.294; Van Loosen, Enkhuizer Regentengeslachten'.

¹⁸ See footnote 13 above.

¹⁹ Van Loosen, Enkhuizer Regentengeslachten'; Kruijmel, 'Kluppel', pp.112-15.

²⁰ He is not found in OAE 364: 'Boeck van de penningen' van ambtenaren, 1693-1744, in which payments by new town officials were noted.

²¹ They were both buried in Enkhuizen, she on 3 September 1691, he on 19 June 1702: Van Loosen, 'Enkhuizer Regentengeslachten'.

Weesmeesteren der stads Enchuijsen ordonneren
 Hendrick Egberts, als vooght over de goederen
 van Hendrick Corneliss, uijt de penningen
 dien aangaende onder hem berustende te
 betaalen aan M. Herm[an] Janss. Chirurgijn
 ten somme van Hondert Carol[us] guldens sal tselve
 op reeckeninge van de voors. Hendrick Corneliss
 valideren act. den 29 novemb[er]. 1667
 Ter ord. van Weesmeesteren.
 Voorss.
 And: van Vossen

Fig. 3. Note written by Andries van Vossen on behalf of the governors of the Orphanage: Weesm[eeste]ren des stads Enchuijsen ordonneren / Hendrick Egberts. als vooght over de goeder[en] / van Hendrick Corneliss. uijt de penningen / dien aangaende onder hem berustende te / betaalen aan M. Herm[an] Janss. Chirurgijn / ten somme van Hondert Carol[us] guldens sal tselve / op reeckeninge van de voors. Hendrick Corneliss. / valideren act[um] den 29 novemb[er] 1667 / Ter ord[onnantie] van Weesm[eeste]ren / voorss. / And: van vossen

Dinsdag 6 Maj 1669.
 guld.
 And: v: Vossen

Fig. 4. Signature of the town secretary Andries van Vossen (And: v: Vossen) to a decision made by the town's government, 6 May 1669.

Because of Andries's mixed and loose script, it is hard to say if he also wrote the rest of the music manuscript. On f.[iv]v is a drawing of a lute and an instruction for tuning the instrument, which are followed by the lute pieces on ff.1r-5v (see below); these pieces, including their captions, seem to be in a different hand from Andries's – this was perhaps his (or Margareta's) lute teacher. This second hand is characterized by such elements as a very unsteady tablature letter *a*, written in many forms, the habit of starting each stave with a time signature, and the decorated double bar lines at the ends of sections. However, in the few pages that he wrote we can see some evolution, for instance in the multiple decorative lines at the close of a piece, suggesting that some time elapsed between the stages in which he wrote in the book. A first stage we see on ff.1r-3r (nos.1-4), a second on ff.3v-5r (nos.5, 7, 8), with no.6 on f.4r a later addition, in grey ink, and a third stage on f.5v (no.9).

The tablature section begins with a page showing a graphic representation of a lute (Fig. 5) with text above *A is oopen* (*a* is an open (string)) and below *die quint dat so bequaem is, end lijden can, / niet te stijf* (the first string (tuned) as far as it will go easily, as it can endure, not too taut), with a tuning chart below. The lute is drawn inaccurately, with a crude rendering of the bridge and carved rose, as well as nine frets on the neck labelled with the ten(!) letters *b* to *i* corresponding to the French tablature notation used for the music (see below). Twelve strings are drawn on the neck and about 18 pegs are illustrated projecting from the pegbox, which do not conform to the eleven-course lute for which the tuning chart below it and the following music is notated. The tuning chart is drawn with eleven lines showing the tuning intervals between the two highest courses, and then octave intervals between pairs of strings for the remainder of the eleven courses, corresponding to a lute of eleven courses in renaissance tuning with six stopped courses of pitches g'-d'-a f-c-G, and five diapasons of F-E flat-D-C-B flat, assuming the lute is tuned in nominal G pitch.

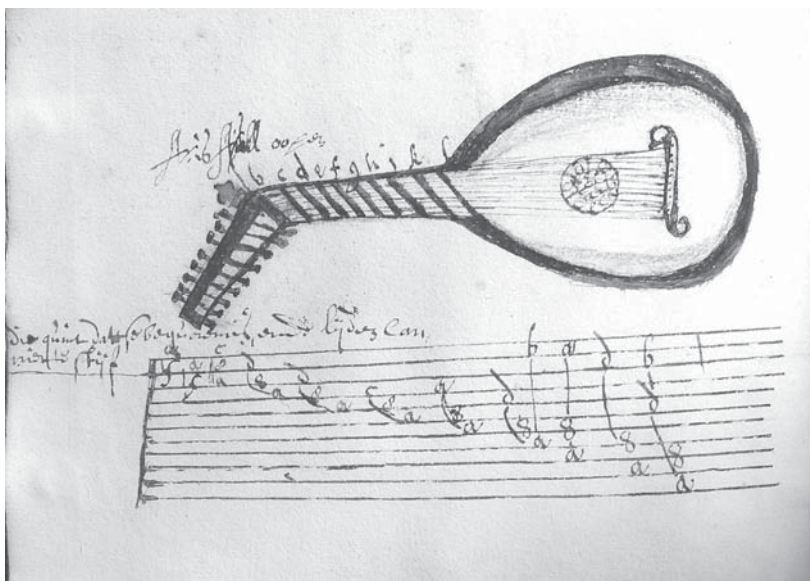


Fig. 5. Enkhuizen 1667-1, f.[iv]v: lute and tuning chart.

The same hand as the tuning chart copied the lute tablature on nine pages between ff.1r and 5v, except for blank staves on f.1v (Fig. 6). A fragment of tablature is also found on f.11r in a different hand. The French tablature notation system is used, with *a*, */a*, *//a*, *///a* and *////a* below the staff to indicate the five lower unstopped diapasons. The tablature is written quite legibly, and, although lacking ornaments, does include playing indications such as vertical lines in many of the chords, sloped horizontal lines for held notes, as well as one or two dots under tablature letters to indicate notes to be struck with the right-hand index and middle fingers, respectively. Each staff begins with a time signature, which is unusual, and rhythm is indicated by the use of mensural rhythm signs. However, the tablature is quite corrupt when compared with cognate versions in other sources, rendering the music impossible to play from. It may have been no more than an aide-mémoire for music already well known to the player, or a copy that was never actually used. As well as errors in the melody and harmony, the tablature abounds with incorrect or misplaced rhythm signs and the majority of bar lines are omitted.

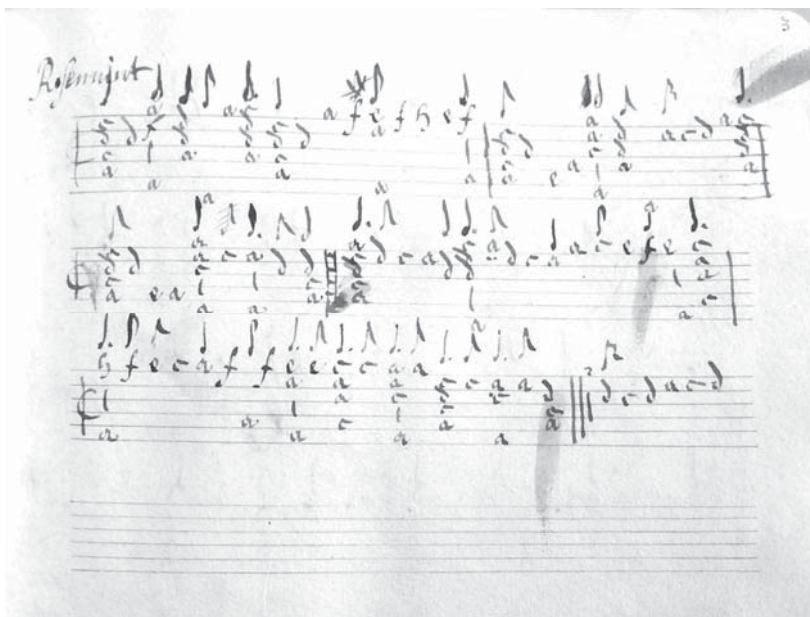


Fig. 6. Enkhuizen 1667-1, f.4r.

Apart from beginning with a short prelude to establish that the lute was in tune, the selection of lute solos that were copied are typical of music popular in mid 17th-century Netherlands and other European countries as all are already known from cognate versions found in contemporary Dutch, English, and other printed and manuscript sources for voice, lute and a range of other instruments including mandore, cittern, guitar, keyboard and recorder (see the inventory below). Five are based on well-known songs or ballad tunes, one Dutch ('Mameer ik zeg, en gy moet weten', the only setting known for lute), one German ('More Palatino') and three English ('When Daphne did from Phoebus fly', 'All in a garden green/Onder linde grüne' and 'Tower Hill/Rosemunt'). Of the remaining three, one is a sarabande attributed to the lutenist Germain Pinel known mainly from keyboard arrangements, and the other two are two courantes of a type known as 'La Vignonne/L'avignonne'.

Interestingly, the fragments of lute music notated on f.11r (no.10; Fig. 7) were probably not written by the tablature copyist of ff.1r-5v. The writer of f.11r could have been Andries himself, judging by the form of the letter *d*. The fragment he notated looks like the last two measures of a lute piece in F. The fragment was notated twice, on the first and on the second stave, one below the other as in a score. On the second stave, the

final chord is followed by a descending *fioritura*, notated in lute tablature but without rhythm signs. On the first stave there is a transcription of this *fioritura* in mensural or staff notation, now with rhythm. There is no clef indicating which pitches are meant, but these may have been of secondary importance at this point, which has the appearance of an informal trial.



Fig. 7. Enkhuizen 1667-1, f.11, with tablature and staff notation.

The music in staff notation following the lute tablature section after 46 pages of blank staves seems to have been written by a single person, although some evolution can be detected, for instance in the form of the G clef and of the flourish after the final bar line. On ff.34v-37r is a first section with pieces for descant and bass, nos.11-18; only no.14 and the (erased) no.17 are without a bass. In this section the pieces have bar lines, which hereafter are mostly missing.²² Another characteristic here is the presence of double clefs on each stave: the (violin) G clef as well as the (baritone) F clef are accompanied by a C clef, possibly to facilitate reading the pitches on the unusual six-line staff. A second section follows immediately: ff.37v-42v, with nos.19-38 for descant solo. Here, the G-clef is not accompanied by a C-clef, and the pieces are without bar lines. Unlike those in the first section, many pieces here have titles. After a few pages in which the staves are left empty (ff. 43r-46v), the last section follows (ff.47r-51v, nos.39-51), in which a C clef is again written together with the G clef. The first three pieces, nos.39-41, have bar lines, but after that these disappear again. In this section only the time signature 3 is written; with the pieces in common time and alla breve the time signatures

²² The reason for having barlines in nos.11-18 is probably to facilitate playing together in those two-part pieces. In the other pieces just the first barline is given if there is an upbeat.

are left out.²³ All of the pieces have a title added. Judging from the proverbial *Finis Coronat Opus* on f.50v ('the end crowns the work'), no.49 was meant to be the final piece, but on the following ff.51r-51v the scribe added two more pieces. After that, the following ff.52r-53r are the last pages with staves; these are left empty. As mentioned before, on f.53v are 18th-century notes on the pepper trade.

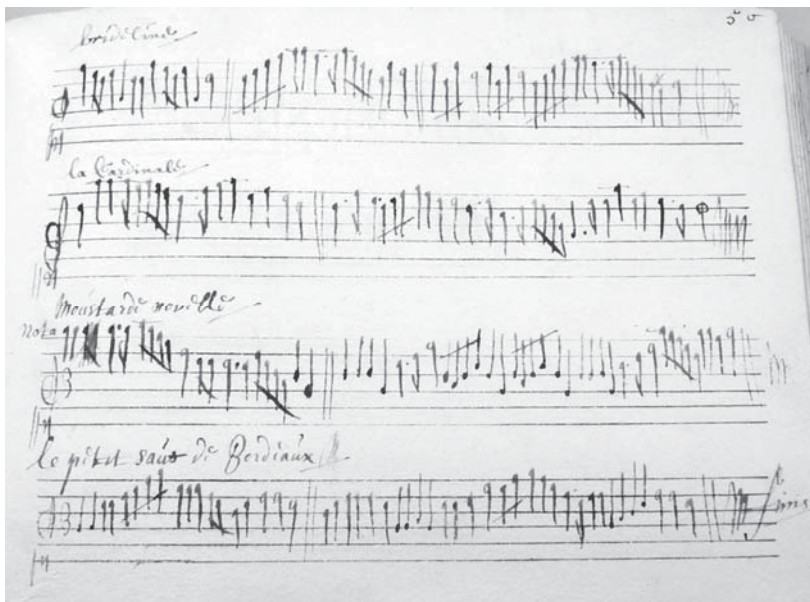


Fig. 8. Enkhuizen 1667-1, f.50r.

It is not certain that the copyist of the music is the same as the one who wrote the titles to the pieces; especially in the second section they seem to have been added later, in a lighter ink (Fig. 8). Most or perhaps all of the titles seem to be in the same hand, and it is not impossible that this is Andries van Vossen himself. Some characteristics of his writing are found here, such as the combination of gothic and italic script,²⁴ the variant forms of *d* and *v* and of long and round *s* (also in the combination *ss*, for

²³ In the first and second sections, the common time and alla breve signatures often seem to have been inserted as an afterthought.

²⁴ In the titles a gothic *e* is almost always written, while in Van Vossen's note of 1667 (Fig. 3) the Italic form is exclusively used; but in the word *Present* in 1670 (Fig. 2) and in most of his signatures he writes the gothic *e*.

instance in his signature: see Figs. 1-4), and the letter forms such as *r*, *p* and *t*; for instance in the title *Moustarde nouvelle* compare the letters *sta* and *d* with the same letters in the word *stad* in Van Vossen's note of 1667 (Figs. 3 and 5).

The section in staff notation seems to be an early specimen of a new type of music manuscript that emerged in the Netherlands in the second half of the 17th century. It typically contains monophonic instrumental music of a simple nature – popular dance and song tunes with elementary structures such as AABB. This type of music book appeared in printed form from 1701 on: the famous *Boerenlietjes* ('Peasant songs') published by Etienne Roger in Amsterdam in 13 volumes.²⁵ This successful formula was copied by other publishers and followed by dozens of manuscripts with this kind of music, and seemed to be used by well-to-do amateurs as domestic music for instruments such as violin, flute, and oboe.²⁶ In the 17th century such manuscripts were still rare. There is a large Dutch manuscript in the city library of Norrköping (Sweden), MS Finspøng no.9098, dating from the late 17th century; and there survive miniature books in doll's houses, one in Utrecht (dated 1674-c.1690) and two in Amsterdam (dated c.1690, for dulcimer and for violin). A first exploration of the monophonic repertoire in the Enkhuizen MS presented here shows it contains many popular tunes used for mid-17th century songs.²⁷ 'La bourè de baptist' (on f.42r), for instance, appears around 1660 in other Dutch

²⁵ *Oude en nieuwe Hollantse Boeren Lietjes en Contredansen. Eerste deel* ('Old and New Dutch Peasant Songs and Country Dances. First Volume') (Amsterdam: E. Roger, 1701). Undated second print by Roger (Amsterdam, after 1712). Slightly altered reprint by Pieter Mortier (Amsterdam, [1709]). Facsimile of all volumes in one volume published by Frits Knuf ([Buren], 1972), ed. M. Veldhuyzen, including all 13 volumes issued by Roger containing a total of 996 through-numbered pieces.

²⁶ On this type of music books and their repertoire see L.P. Grijp, 'Populaire muziek in achttiende-eeuws Nederland', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* lxxvi (2011), pp.83-86, and on 18th-century manuscripts of this type, see J. Koning, 'Hollandse deuntjes. Wat vertellen muziekhandschriften over het gebruik van Nederlandse populaire speelmuziek in de achttiende eeuw?', *ibidem*, pp.113-46, including a list of 27 manuscripts of this sort.

²⁷ In the Nederlandse Liederbank (Dutch Song Database) of the Meertens Institute most of the lute pieces are found as tune indications in printed songbooks such as *Tweede Delfs Cupidoos schighje* (Delft, 1656) and *Amsterdamse Mengel-Moez* (Amsterdam, 1658), and in the song manuscript of Geesken ter Borch (1652-c.1680); <http://www.liederenbank.nl>.

sources, after which it gained a modest popularity.²⁸ Based on a first cursory survey, an acceptable dating of the monophonic collection would be the second half of the 17th century, from the early 1660s onwards.²⁹ This perfectly fits the biographical evidence, according to which the music book was started as a lute manuscript about 1659, but after some time was continued as a monophonic music book. The compass of the monophonic tunes and of the dessus parts of the few two-voiced pieces is from c' to c''' and thus they can be played on a violin or an oboe. Although the c' does not occur frequently, a traverso would not be a good choice for this manuscript. There are no double stops, which leaves the option of an oboe possible.

All in all it is certain that Andries van Vossen around 1659 owned the manuscript and that he and/or his wife Margareta Vesterman, played the lute and/or a descant instrument such as the violin or the oboe. Apparently, after a relatively short time they changed the lute in favour of the descant instrument. One may suppose that the music book stayed in Van Vossen's possession during his lifetime, but it is not known what happened to it after his death in 1702. From the inscription on the cover it can be deduced that the manuscript was given a new, non-musical purpose in December 1703. According to the inventory in the Westfries Archief it formed part of the documents coming from the divorce of Wybrand Blom, 'ordinary councillor of the (East) Indies', and Maria Haak.³⁰ We may assume that Maria, who was buried in Batavia in 1748,³¹ belonged to the Enkhuizen patrician Haak family,³² to which Andries van Vossen was related through

²⁸ The first appearance seems to be the lute setting from c.1658-60 by Johannes Fresneau (Leiden) in PL-Kj 40626 (see the chapter by Burgers on Fresneau in this volume). Shortly thereafter J. Blasius, *Fidamants kusjes* (Amsterdam, 1663), p.84, wrote his love song 'O tintelende Diamant' to the tune of 'Boure de Battist'. This melody appears three other times in Dutch sources until the early 18th century. It was based on a bourrée by Jean-Baptiste Lully; see *Berliner Lautentabulaturen. Zwei Handschriften aus der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts für Laute und Gitarre*, ed. D. Kirsch und L. Meierott (Mainz [etc.], 1996), p.13, where more instrumental and vocal settings are listed.

²⁹ In the near future the Meertens Institute plans to publish the contents of the manuscript in the Liederbank, with the implied concordances with many Dutch sources.

³⁰ See footnote 1.

³¹ Westfries Archief, toegangsnr.0391: Collectie gedrukte stukken, inv.nr.551L: 'Begraafbrief van Maria Haak, weduwe van Wybrand Blom, te Batavia, 1748'.

³² The papers concerning the divorce of Wybrand Blom and Maria Haak are nowadays collected in OAE 1672-1675: 'Brieven aan Dirk Pietersz Haak, raad,

his daughter Aafjen, who was married to Pieter Haak. The divorce of Wybrand Blom and Maria Haak seems to have taken place in the second half of the 1720s.³³ It is possible that the manuscript was with the couple in the Dutch East Indies, but if so, it had returned to Holland before July 1728: the many names of porters and carpenters mentioned in the notes from 1728-47 are all Dutch. It was probably by way of the Haak family papers that the manuscript eventually ended up in the Enkhuizen town archive, where it is still kept.

schepen, burgemeester van Enkhuizen, bewindhebber van de O.I. Compagnie enz., 12 maart 1700 tot en met 19 april 1749'.

³³ OAE 1672-57: 'Stukken betreffende de echtscheiding tussen Wijbrand Blom en Maria Haak (afschriften), 1725, 1728'.

Appendix A

Contents of the Music Part of Enkhuizen 1667-1 (RISM NL-HOwfa 1667-1)

f.[i]r-[i]v: blank

f.[ii]r: 'title page': *Andreas van vossen / jungatur cum / Margareta vesterman / ut, quos junxit amor, quos hora novissima solvet*. Above: groups of staff notes, rhythm only.

ff.[ii]v-[iv]r: blank

f.[iv]v: instructions for tuning the lute: drawing of an eleven-course lute, with a table indicating *viel ton* renaissance tuning.

[ff.1-5v: lute tablature]

1 f.1r: *Preludium, om te hooren ofte die luijte gestelt is*

f.1v: empty staves

2 f.2r: *More / palatino*

3 f.2v: *Sarabande*

4 f.3r: *Rosemunt*

5 ff.3v-4r: *la Vingione*

6 f.4r/2: *Mamere*

7 f.4v: *Daphne*

8 f.5r: *Onder de linde grune*

9 f.5v: *2 lauingione*

ff.6r-10v: empty staves

10 f.11r: fragments of tablature and staff notation, NT

ff.11v-34r: empty staves

[ff.34v-42v: staff notation, mostly for descant, on staves of six lines]

11 f.34v: n.t. [descant to no.12]

12 f.35r: n.t. [bass to no.11]

13 f.35v/1: n.t. / *Dessus* [descant to no.15]

14 f.35v/2: n.t.

15 f.36r: n.t. [bass to no.13]

16 f.36v: n.t. [bass to no.18]

17 f.37r/1: n.t. [erased]

18 f.37r/2: n.t. [descant to no.16]

19 f.37v/1: n.t.

20 f.37v/2: n.t.

21 f.38r: *La Fronte*.

22 f.38v/1: n.t. / *Finis*

23 f.38v/2: *2 brande*.

24 f.39r/1: *3 brande*.

- 25 f.39r/2: n.t.
- 26 f.39v/1: n.t.
- 27 f.39v/2: *La ducesse*
- 28 f.40r/1: n.t.
- 29 f.40r/2: n.t.
- 30 f.40v/1: *Brandes*
- 31 f.40v/2: 2.
- 32 f.41r/1: 3.
- 33 f.41r/2: *Gavotte*.
- 34 f.41v/1: n.t.
- 35 f.41v/2: n.t.
- 36 f.42r/1: *La bourè de baptist*.
- 37 f.41r/2: *La ingene*.
- 38 f.42v: *La Royale*.
ff.43r-46v: empty staves
- 39 ff.47r-47v: *Albando fuge* / 2 / *volcht de derde manier*. // *Derde manier* / *finis*
- 40 f.48r-48v/1: *Courante* [*u* written above] / 2 / 3 [of 3 only the first notes, erased] / 3 *Manier*
- 41 f.48v/2: *liermans*.
- 42 f.49r-49v: *Repicava*. / 2 *Manier*
- 43 f.49v/2: *labore* / *Finis*
- 44 f.50r/1: *brideline*
- 45 f.50r/2: *la Cardinale*
- 46 f.50r/3: *Moustarde nouvelle* / *Nota*
- 47 f.50r/4: *le petit saut* [*t* corrected from *s*] *de Bordiaux* / *finis*
- 48 f.50v/1: *Brande champagne*
- 49 f.50v/2: *La Cassandre* / *Finis coronat Opus* / *Ende*
- 50 f.51r/1: *Nu wil ick Reisen gaan*.
- 51 f.51r/2-51v: *Petite Royal*:
ff.52r-53r: empty staves

Appendix B

List of Concordances and Cognates of the Lute Pieces

1 *Preludium, om te hooren ofte die luyte gestelt is (f.1r)*

A unique ‘Prelude, to hear if the lute is tuned’.

2 *More palatino (f.2r)*

The earliest evidence for this melody is the French air ‘En m’en revenant de saint nicolas’ (in *Airs de court*, Paris: Le Roy & Ballard 1597), from where it spread over Europe, including England, Italy, Germany, Scandinavia, and the Low Countries.³⁴ The earliest known references in the Netherlands date from around 1600, when a contrafactum ‘Wee mijn ick mag wel klaegen’ was written in the songbook of Antonis van Butevest (Leiden, after 1594) and the Album amicorum of Aefgen Claesdochter van Gibrant (provenance unknown, 1598-1600), in neither case with notation. In the Netherlands the tune became also known as ‘Almande Graci’, ‘Vanden Lombardenier’ or ‘Lommert’, and ‘More Palatino’. The Nederlandse Liederenbank lists 27 songs to this tune, both secular and sacred, and/or instrumental settings – which testifies to a modest popularity in the Netherlands (modest compared to other international tunes) of slightly more than a century (between c. 1600 and c. 1712).³⁵

*Vocal:*³⁶

Airs 1597, ff. 12v-13r, inc: ‘En m’en revenant de saint nicolas’ (a4); Lenaerts DTA1602, p. 8, tune: ‘Almande Graci’; *Vingertuig* 1645, p. 93, tune: ‘Almande de Graci’; Placker EL1682, p. 209, tune: ‘More Palatino’; Sluiter Gz1687, p. 245, tune: ‘More Palatino’.

Instrumental printed:

Adriaenssen PM1600, f. 75r ‘Almande - Autrement’; Hove FC1601, f. 109r ‘Almande Gratie’ (HoveB no. 229); Fuhrmann TG1615, p. 141 ‘Bransle d. S. Nicola. p. Sig. Jacobum’ (Jakob Polak, PolakP, pp. 145-146); ibidem, pp. 158-159 ‘Ballet 20’ [header: ‘Ballet 20. En me revenant’]; ibidem, p. 43 ‘Subpleme[n]tu[m] folii’ [header: ‘La Nonette Perichonis’] (Julien

³⁴ Van Baak Griffioen, p. 220ff.

³⁵ For an overview see <http://www.liederenbank.nl>, under the standard name of this melody: ‘Wee mij ik mag wel klagen’.

³⁶ Songbooks are also mentioned as vocal sources, if they contain a version of the melody in mensural notation, usually monophonic. If they only mention the melody in a tune indication, the title has not been included.

Perrichon, CLFVau, Perrichon no.21); Besard NP1617, sigs. E2v-E3r '9 en Reuenant de Saint Nicolas Nova Testudo / Testudo maior / Testudo minor / Superius / Bassus' (3 lutes and 2 melody instruments); Chancy TM1629, f.5v 'En m'en revenant de S. Nicolas'; *Euterpe*1644, f.36v 'Vande Lombart' = Eyck FL1649, f.38v 'Vande Lombart' (recorder solo); ibidem, f.94r-94v 'More Palatino, met 2' (recorder duo); Mortier ON(2)1709, p.16 (no.140) 'De lommert' (monophonic); Roger ON(6)1711, p.15 (no.441) 'More Palatino' (monophonic); Roger ON(2)1712, p.12 (no.50) 'De lommert' (monophonic).

Instrumental manuscripts:

A-Wm XIV.714, ff.216v-217r 'Allemand' (SweelinckOO I/3, no.7); A-Wn 17771, f.160v 'Revenant per Johan. Bull'; B-Bc 26.369, f.9v 'Allemande grassie'; B-Br 926, f.18r 'Allemande St Nicholas'; CH-Bu F.IX.53, f.64v untitled fragment; CH-SO DA 111, ff.33v-34r 'En me revenant de S^t Nicolas A D: Jacobo Murer'; ibidem, ff.38r-38v 'En revenant de S^t Nicolas J:J:W:.'; ibidem, f.43v 'En moy revenant de S. Nicolas'; ibidem, ff.38v-40r 'Idem'; D-B 4022, f.47r 'Chorea Anglica'; D-B N 479, f.2v untitled; ibidem, ff.8v-9r 'Mascarate En m'en reuenant'; D-Dl M 297, pp.132-133 'More Palatino'; D-HRD FÜ 9829, ff.10v-11r '8. More Palatino - Variatio'; D-LEm II.6.15, p.460 'Flore paladino'; ibidem, p.500 'En me reuenant'; D-Lr K.N.146, no.62 'More palatino'; D-Lr K.N.148, no.23 'More Palatino'; D-Us 132, p.6 'En reven'; ibidem, p.7 'En reven'; ibidem, p.70 'ballet de S^t nicolas'; ibidem, p.71 'nicola ton nouveau de la mandore'; D-Us 133a, ff.1v-2r 'En revenant de S^t. Nicolas'; D-Us 133b, ff.1v-2r 'En revenant de S^t. Nicolas'; ibidem, ff.32v-33r 'Quand je remue tout branle'; DK-Kk Mu 6806.1399, no.10 'More Palatino'; F-Pn Rés.1185. pp.30-31 'Allmaine: Or: Gibbons'; F-Pn Rés.1402, p.5 'Branle de Saint NiCoLas'; F-Pn Vm7 6213, p.25 'Branle de St Nicolas'; F-Psg 2344, f.3v 'Branle de St Nicolas'; F-Psg 2351, f.6r 'Branle de St Nicolas'; F-Sn R.107.10, f.2r 'Furst Joachim Ernsts von Anhalt Lied, so es frewlin Sibillen von Solms gmacht'; GB-Cfm 689, f.31r 'En me reuenant'; GB-Ctc O.16.2, pp.139-138 'mr Daniell Bachelers Round' = GB-Cu Add.3056, ff.43v-44r untitled = GB-Lbl Add.38539, ff.8v-9r 'Almayne' = GB-Lbl Eg.2046, f.28v 'A Carranta' (BachelorL no.43); GB-En Adv. 5.2.15, pp.127-130 'Alman Nichols'; GB-Eu Laing III 487, ff.8r-9r 'Sibit Sant Nikcola'; GB-Lam 603, f.25v 'Almayne'; GB-Lbl Add.10337, f.27v 'Almaygne: Mr. Johnson' = US-NYp Drexel 5609. pp.32-33 'Almaygne Mr. Johnson'; GB-Lbl Add.36661, f.40r 'The Italian Ground: By Mr. Orlando Gibbons'; GB-Lbl Sloane 1021, f.65r-65v 'MORE PALATINO' = GB-Cfm 689, f.44r 'En me reuenant' (PolakP,

pp.145-146); GB-Lbl Sloane 1021, f.65v 'Aliud Leonis'; ibidem, f.65v 'Aliud'; ibidem, f.66r 'More pal. Kul.'; ibidem, f.66r 'Aliud Madel'; ibidem, f.66r 'Aliud Deck[er]'; GB-Och 1113, pp.219-220 'Allmaine Orlan. Gibbons'; I-Fn Magl. XIX 105, f.13r 'More Palatino'; LT-Va 285-MF-LXXIX, f.65r 'Matthiae defl Röm: Kayserfl Auffzug in Franckfurdt geschehen'; NL-At 208-A-4, p.5 'More Palatino' (arr. Gisbert Steenwick); Pepusch 18/I, p.88 'Dr. Bull voor my gemaekt, En revenant'; RO-MC 6199, no.242 'Rumen re(vena)nt de Saint Nicolas'; RUS-Königsberg S.S.25, ff.1r-1v & 12v 'More Palatino'; S-B 172, ff.35v-36r 'More Palatino'; ibidem, f.37r 'More Palatino' (texted: 'Hörrt an menischligh Creatur'); US-NYp Drexel 5612, p.120-121 'The Italian Grounde Mr. Orlando Gibbons'.

3 *Sarabande (f.2v)*

The earliest source of this Sarabande by the French lutenist Germain Pinel (c.1600-61) is the Faille MS for keyboard (French c.1625, now lost), where it was called 'Sarabande Pinel'.³⁷ From France the melody spread over Europe. In the Netherlands the tune became popular in the 1640s, when song texts such as 'Mocht ick ô Swaentjen eens nevens u baede' (*Amsterdamse Minne-zuchjens*, Amsterdam, 1643) and 'Nu sich ondanckbaer toont mijn Herderinne' ('*t Amsteldams Minne-beeckie*, Amsterdam, 1645) were written to it. The Nederlandse Liederenbank lists over 160 songs (most of them secular, but also some Protestant or Catholic ones) written to this tune, which remained popular until the early 18th century.³⁸

Vocal (see footnote 36):

AMinnez 1643, p.4 'Nu sich ondanckbaer toont mijn Herderinne'; *AmMinnebeekje* 1645a, p.152 'Serbande'; ibidem, p.380 'Nu sich ondanckbaer toont mijn Herderinne'; Bolognino GL1645, p.1 'Van Serbande Pinel'; Dubbels He1645, p.58 'Serbande'; *HaWinterbloempjes* 1647, p.58 't Schijnt dat mijn Zieltje sijn adem wil geven' (melodic variant); Leeuw CP1648, p.73 'Dancket den Heere voor sijne ghenade'; Pers VU1648, p.190 'Fransche air'; *MScharrezoo* 1650, p.88 't Schijnt dat mijn Zieltje sijn adem wil geven' (same variant as in *HaWinterbloempjes* 1647); Beer GR1653, p.44 's'Nachts als een ieghelijck was in ruste'; *Zederijmen* 1656, p.98 'Zerbande. Of: 't Schijnt

³⁷ Van Baak Griffioen, p.312ff.

³⁸ The standard name of this melody in <http://www.liederenbank.nl> is 'Sarabande Pinel'.

dat mijn zieltje'; Swaen ZZ1664 (1664), p.351 'Sarabande. Ofte: 't Schynt dat mijn sieltje sijn adem wil geven. Of[te:] Doen ick lest wandelden over de Helder. Ofte: Mocht ick, ô Swaentje! eens nevens u baden'; Placker EL1682, p.195 'Serbande'; Cuilemborgh GZR1683, p.93 'Sal ick o Swaentjen &c. of 's Morgens in 't krieckjen &c.'; Ringers SSP1686, p.205 'Fransche air'; Tuinman MSG1709, p.263 "'s Morgens in't krieckjen, &c.'.

Instrumental printed:

Eyck FL1649, f.57v 'Sarabanda' (recorder solo); Mortier ON(1)1700, IX:703 'S'morgens in't kriecken van den dag' (monophonic); RogerON(9)1713, p.24 (no.703) 'S'morgens in 't kriecken van den dag' (monophonic).

Instrumental manuscript:

Faille MS, f.121v 'Sarabande Pinel'; B-Gar Reg.96.2, p. 14 'O Iesv o wonderbaer goetheÿt, op de wyse van Courante Madame'; D-Lr K.N.146, f.81v 'Saraband'; DK-Kk Mu 6806.1399, ff.10v-13r 'Aria di D.B.H.' (Buxtehude); DK-Kk 376, ff.21v-23r 'Sarabande'; GB-Lbl Eg.2046, f. 46v 'Le Sarabande' (French flat tuning); GB-Och 1236, f.39r 'Sarabrand Mr. Ben: Rogers'; I-Rvat 569, p.98 'Sarabande'; NL-At-A-4, ff.17v-20r 'Serbande Gisbert Steenwick'; ibidem, ff.24v-28v 'Saraband Barend Broeckhuisen'; RUS-SPan Q N 204, f.19v 'Serbande'; S-Skma Finspøng MS 9098, p.25 'Sarabande' (monophonic); cf. CLFPinel, no.2.

4 Rosemunt (f.3r)

This melody originates from England, where Giles Farnaby's version was entitled 'Tower Hill' in the Fitzwilliam virginal book (1609-19).³⁹ The melody appears in Dutch song repertoire in 1631, when the Catholic priest J.B. Stalpart van der Wiele published a contrafactum to it, with notation. In his tune indication he mentioned a love song, 'Rozemond hoe zeer ghy vliedt'. Some of the Dutch contrafacta mention 'Londons Bridge reformée' as tune indication. The Nederlandse Liederbank lists 51 songs to this tune, both secular and sacred, up to c.1683.⁴⁰

³⁹ Van Baak Griffioen, p.311ff.

⁴⁰ The standard name of this melody in <http://www.liederenbank.nl> is 'Rozemond waar gij vliedt'.

Vocal (see footnote 36):

Stalpart EC1631, p.608 ‘Rozemond hoe zeer ghy vliedt’; Pers BLW1640-1648, p.189 ‘Rosemond waer ghy vlied, &c.’; HsLdUB BPL2973-1, f.1r ‘Rosemont waer gij vliet / ghij ontloopt mij noch soo niet’; Swaen ZZ1664, p.209 ‘Rosemond! waer ghy vliedt. Ofte: Jesu soet! hooghste goet’; Drieduym EY1672, p.92 ‘Rosemondt waerje vliedt’; Lodenstein US1676, p.131 ‘Rosemont waer gy vliedt’; Placker EL1682, p.219 ‘Rosemont waer ghy vliedt. [Of:] H. Geest daelt in ‘t Hert’.

Instrumental printed:

Vallet AS1642, f.39v ‘Roosemond’ (à 2; only bass part preserved); Euterpel1644, ff.14v-15v ‘Rosemondt’ & 46r ‘2. Rosemont’ = Eyck FL1649, ff.15r-15v ‘Rosemont’ and 47v ‘Tweede Rosemond’ (recorder solo).

Instrumental manuscript:

GB-Cfm 168, p.357 ‘Tower Hill Giles Farnaby’; GB-Lbl Add.30486, f.20v ‘A Gigge’; RUS-SPan Q N 204, f.22v ‘Rosemont’.

5 *la Vingione* (ff.3v-4r)

This courante appears for the first time in *Diverses picescises mises sur le luth par R. Ballard* (Paris, 1614) as ‘La Vignonne’, and a year later in Nicolas Vallet’s *Le secret des muses* (Amsterdam, 1615) as ‘L’avignonne’. Of these two forms ‘La Vignonne’ makes the most authentic impression. Both forms are found in French, German, Italian, British, Danish, and Dutch sources mentioning the tune, which thus appeared to be popular throughout Europe.⁴¹ The original words may have begun with ‘Pourquoy me fuyés-vous, cruelle? / Regardés moy, c’ét un amant’ (as is suggested by a tune indication in the Valenciennes religious songbook *La Pieuse Alouette* (1621)). The Nederlandse Liederbank lists nearly 100 Dutch songs written to this tune and some instrumental versions, from the love songs ‘Waer heenen Amaryl, waer heenen?’ (dated 1619 in a manuscript of Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft) and ‘O cierlijcke cieraed’ in J.J. Starter’s *Friesche Lusthof* (1621) to ‘Begaefde Maeght, begaeft’ in *Het Nieuwe Hoornse Speel-Werck* (Hoorn, 2nd print 1732).⁴² For

⁴¹ Van Baak Griffioen, p.199ff, quoting extensively from A. Dickinson, ‘The Courante La Vignonne. In the steps of a popular dance’ in *Early Music* x (January 1982), pp.56-62.

⁴² The standard name of this melody in <http://www.liederenbank.nl> is ‘La Vignonne’.

alternative melodies for *La Vignonne*, see no.9 of this inventory, 2 *lauingione*.

Vocal (see footnote 36):

D-MG Mus.40.160, f.5r 'La Vignone'; Pieuse Alouette(1)1619, p.22 'Sur l'air mondain de la Vignonne: Pourquoi me fuyés-vous, cruelle? / Regardés moy, c'et un amant, &c.'; Starter FL1621, pp.26-27 'L'Avignone'; ibidem, pp.91-92 'L'Avignone'; ibidem, pp.116-117 'L'Avignone, &c Fol 26'; Camphuysen SR1624, p.28 'L'Avignonne'; Valerius NG1626, p.174 'La Vignonne'; Stalpart EC1631, p.476 'O Sierelijk Sieraet'; GNachtegael(1) 1634, p.90 [no tune indication]; Theodotus PGL1638, p.466 'O cierelijck cieraet'; Dubbels Hel645, p.45 'l'Avignone'; HsLdUB BPL2973-1, f.2v 'Lavignone' (with incomplete text); ibidem, f.23r 'Lavignone' (textless); Swaen ZZ1664, p.29 'O cierelijck Cieraed, Ofte: L'Avignone'; Sweerts ZT1673, p.22 'La Vignone'; Placker EL1682, p.33 'La Vignone'.

Instrumental printed:

Ballard DP1614, pp.26-27 '(Courante) Septiesme' (header: 'La Vignonne') (CLFBal II, pp.24-25); Vallet SM1615/1618, p.80 'Lauignonne A.9' (CLFVal no.70); Valerius NG1626, pp.174-176 'La Vignonne' (2 voices, lute and cittern); Moy PB1631, f.26v 'La Vigone'; Foscarini CS1632, p.51 'Corrente La Vignon'; Vallet AS1642 II, n° 26 'L'Avignone'; Euterpel644, ff.13r-13v and 59r-60v '2de Lavignione / Lavigenione / Tweede l'Avignone' = Eyck FL1649, ff.14r-14v & 61r-62v '2de Lavignione / Lavigenione / Tweede l'Avignone'; Matthysz UK1646, f.1v 'Lavion' (Louis Constantin); Playford MB1651, pp.22-23 26 'La Vinione. Harpe way, Flat. By Mr. Will. Paget' = Playford MRLV1652, p.60 '66 Coranto La Vinione' = Playford MRLV1661, p.23 '32 Courante La Vinione' = Playford MRLV1669, pp.52-53 24 'Corant Lavinion' = Playford MRLV1682, p.60 '6 La Laviunone' (VdGS Playford no.T125); RogerON(7)1711, p.1 (no.474) 'l'Avignonne' (monophonic).

Instrumental manuscript:

CH-SO DA 111, ff.16v-17r 'Courante d'Avignon'; ibidem, ff.22v-23r 'L'Auignon'; CZ-Pnm IV.G.18, f.104r 'La vignone'; D-B Hove 1, ff.39v-40r 'Courante / La Vingnonne' (HoveB no.346); D-B N 479, f.7r 'Courante / La Vignonne'; ibidem, ff.58v-59r 'La Vingrone'; ibidem, ff.90v-91r untitled; D-Dl M 297, pp.80-81 'L'Avignone'; D-Lr 1198, no.79 *Courant Lavione* (keyboard); D-Ut 132, p.46 untitled; ibidem, pp.47-48 'Quand l'on void le (d) en la 2'; D-Ut 133a, ff.3v-4r 'La

vignonne' = D-Us 133b, ff.3v-4r '6 La vignonne'; D-Us 133b, ff.37v-38r '56 La Vignonne' = D-Us 239, ff.5v-6r 'Lauignone'; ibidem, ff.60v-61r '86 La vignonne'; F-Pn Rés F 494, p.8 'Courante Davignon'; GB-En 9452, ff.21v-22r untitled; ibidem, f.240r untitled; GB-HAdolmetsch II.B.1, ff.66v-67v 'Courante'; ibidem, f.183r 'Courante La Vignone'; GB-Lbl Add.63852, f.90r *flat harpe Launion* (VdGS Playford no.T125); GB-Lbl Sloane 1021, f.54r 'Courant La Vigno[n]'; NL-Ulb MS 20 A 6, p.16 'Courante La Vigione' (monophonic); Roduaer MS, pp.4-5 '15 Couranta Lavignon'.

6 *Mamere* (f.4r/2)

Apart from the lute version in the Enkhuizen lute book this melody is only known from tune indications for some 50 Dutch songs from 1661 until the early 19th century.⁴³ The title 'Mameer' was referred to during this whole period, but a song text beginning with 'Mameer ik zeg, en gy moet weten, Dat myn de Mode heeft bescheeten' (for full text see below) was not printed before it appears in *Het nieuwe vermakelyke Thirsis Minnewit*, second part (1731); therefore it is probably not the original 'Mameer'-text. The music can be found in three Calvinist songbooks printed between 1676 and 1709.

Vocal:

Lodenstein US1676, p.286 'Mameer'; Sluiter Gz1687, p.155 'Ma Mere'; Tuinman MSG1709, p.347 'Mameer'.

7 *Daphne* (f.4v)

The text and tune of this famous ballad are found in early 17th-century England; the oldest reference to it is in 1621.⁴⁴ Shortly afterwards the song was introduced in the Netherlands in a quasi-translation by Jan Jansz Starter (*Friesche Lusthof*, second print Amsterdam c.1623) and both the text and the tune became a popular success: the Nederlandse Liederensbank lists over a hundred text versions, contrafacta and instrumental versions up to the early 19th century.⁴⁵

⁴³ The standard name of this melody in <http://www.liederensbank.nl> is 'Ma Mère ik zeg'.

⁴⁴ Van Baak Griffioen, p.162ff. Simpson, pp.163-4, lists ballads that call for the tune, such as Forbes SF1662, no.21 'When Father Adam first did flee'.

⁴⁵ The standard name of this melody at <http://www.liederensbank.nl> is 'Toen Daphne de overschone maagd'.

Vocal:

GB-Lbl Add.24665, f.67v ‘When Daphne from faire Phoebus did flie’; US-LAuc Taitt, f.148v ‘When daphne did &c’; Starter FL1623, p.181 ‘When Daphne did from Phoebus fly’; Valerius NG1626, p.30 ‘Engelsche Daphne’; Stalpart EC1631, p.567 ‘ (no tune indication); *GNachtegaal* 2 1634, p.224 (no tune indication); Stalpart GJF1635, p.30 ‘Doen Daphne d’overschoone maegt’; Theodotus PGL1638, p.113 ‘Doen Daphne d’overschoone maeght’; HsLdUB BPL2973-1, f.7v ‘Daphne’; Leeuw CP1648, p.82 ‘Doen Daphne d’overschoone maaght’; Wits SB1649, p.16 ‘Doen Daphne d’over-schoone Maeght, &c.’; Swaen ZZ1664, p.48 ‘Doen Daphne d’overschoone Maeght’; Sweerts ZT1673, p.24 ‘Dafne’; Lodenstein US1676, p.247 ‘Daphne’; Placker EL1682, p.16 ‘Doen Daphne’; Tuinman MSG1709, p.364 ‘Daphne’; HsAengwarda1757, p.104 (no tune indication); ibidem, p.158 (no tune indication); ibidem, p.189 (no tune indication).

Instrumental printed:

Valerius NG1626 pp.30-31 ‘Engelsche Daphne’ (lute, cittern amd two voices); Vallet AS1642, f. 38r ‘Daphne’; Eyck FL1649, ff.3v-5r ‘Doen Daphne’ (‘d’over schoone Maeght’); Ibidem, f.42r ‘Tweede Daphne’; ibidem, ff.66v-69v ‘Derde, Doen Daphne d’over’; Playford ED1651, p.30 ‘Daphne’ (‘the Shepherdess’ in later editions).

Instrumental manuscript:

B-Gar Reg.96.2, ‘Doen Daphne, &c’ (‘set 13 May 1662’); D-Kl 4^o.Mus.108 I, f.26v untitled; D-Lr K.N.146, no.212 ‘Courant’; F-Pn Rés.1186, ff.55v-56r ‘When Daphne did from Phoebus flie’; GB-Cfm 168, pp.210-212 ‘Daphne 5 Farnabie’; GB-Lbl Add.17786-9 & 17791, f.7r ‘Daphne’; GB-Lml 46.78/748, f.4v ‘Daphny’; GB-Mp BRm 832 Vu 51, p.15 ‘Daphne. R[ichard]. S[umarte].’ (VdGS Sumarte no.16); NL-Ulb MS 20 A 6, p.14 ‘Daphna’; NL-Ulb RAR MSo 2, ff.37v-39r ‘Daphne’; RUS-Span Q N 204, f.21v ‘Courante Daphne’; S-VX 1500-1600, f.152v ‘Doen Daphne d’over scoone maeght’; US-NHub Osborn fb7, f.82r ‘Daphne’; US-NYp Drexel 5609, pp.138-9 ‘When Daphne did from Phoebus flie’; US-Ws V.b.280, f.86v untitled.

A different tune to ‘Tell me Daphne’:

Vocal:

US-LAuc Taitt, ff.35v-36r 4 ‘Tell me Daphne where away’

Instrumental manuscript:

GB-Cfm 168, pp.393-4 ‘Tell me, Daphne Giles Farnaby’; GB-Lam 603,

f.40r untitled; GB-Lbl Add.30486, f.22r ‘Goe no more a rushing’; GB-Lbl Add.63852, f. 114v ‘Lady Arbella’ (VdGS no.7982); GB-Lbl Eg.2046, ff.35v-36r ‘Daphney and Corridon, by John Whitfeild’.

A different tune to ‘Engels Prins Daphne’ (Almaine by Robert Johnson, JohnsonS no.7):

Instrumental printed:

Brade NA1617, no.44 ‘Robb. Batemans Nāglein Blumen’; Valerius NG16226, pp. 212-213 ‘Engels Prins Daphne’ (voice, lute and cittern); Mathew LA1652, pp. 30-32 25 ‘Almane’.

Instrumental manuscript:

D-B 4022, f. 12r ‘Courante del Prince de Angelterra’; D-LEm II.6.15, p. 348 ‘Nāgel blum’; ibidem, p.441 ‘Nālcken blumen’; GB-Cfm 168, p.266 ‘Alman. Robert Jhonson’; GB-Cfm 689, f.70v ‘Almaine R: Jhonson’; GB-Ctc O.16.2, p.115 ‘An allmaine p[er] Mr Ro: Johnson’; GB-Cu Dd.4.22, f.10r ‘an allman by mer Robart Jhonson’; GB-Cu Nn.6.36, f.15v ‘The pr: Allm’; GB-Lam 603, f.16r ‘The prince his Almayne’; GB-Lbl Add.38539, f.17r ‘Allmayne by Mr Robert Johnson’; GB-Lbl Add.36661, f.54r ‘The Princes Almayne By Johnson’; GB-Lbl Add.63852, f.26v ‘The Princis Almayne; GB-Lbl Add.63852, f.100r ‘Almayne Mr Johnson’ (VdGS Robert Johnson no.14); GB-SA 38740/2, ff.26v-27r ‘Almaine’; PL-Kj 40641, f.3r ‘Ballet’.

8 Onder de linde grune (f.5r)

The tune is English: ‘All in a garden green’, notated for the first time in William Ballet’s lute book (c.1590-c.1610).⁴⁶ So far, an English ballad text that fits this tune has not been found. Probably the oldest Dutch text version ‘Onder een linde groen, / waer ick laest nam mijn rust’ from the songbook *Den Bloem-Hof van de Nederlandsche Jeught* (Amsterdam, 1610) is a translation from an English original. Here is a synopsis: I (the singer) sat resting under a green linden tree, and there too sat a young lad and lass, hand in hand. He flirted with her, and it was going well. Then I fell asleep. When I awoke, the girl was in tears, her maidenhood lost. What now? She sees life before her as an unwed mother or an old maid. But the young man promises to marry her, whew, and then she’s happy again. After some time the girl gets pregnant but the boy dumps her

⁴⁶ Simpson, pp.10-11.

anyway. Scandalous! Come on boys, let's poke the faithless guy's eyes out!⁴⁷

There is a tiny but strong piece of evidence that such an English ballad did exist. The rhetoricians' poetry book *Het Leydsch Vlaemsch Orangien Lely-hof* (Leiden, 1632), contains a May song, dated 1617, with the tune indication 'Stemme: Whidin a garden greene, where j dot lie me downe. Ofte: Onder de linde groen, aldaer ick nam mijn rust' ('To the tune: *Whidin a garden greene, where j dot lie me downe*. Or: Under a green linden tree, where I took my rest').⁴⁸

The melody acquired a modest popularity in the Netherlands, with some 34 songs and instrumental settings between 1610 and 1765.⁴⁹ It is easily confused with another English tune, 'Lord Zouche's Masque', which sounds like a shortened variant of 'All in a garden green'. For instance, the Dutch recorder virtuoso Jacob van Eyck wrote variations on a tune that he called 'Onder de linde groene', but it is actually 'Lord Zouche's Masque'. In the Netherlands, this tune was also known as 'Branle d'Irlande' and 'Soet Catharijken'.⁵⁰

Vocal (see footnote 36):

Stalpart EC1631, p.511 'Onder de Linde groen'; Forbes SF1662, no.4 'In a garden so green'; Lodenstein US1676, p.137 'Onder de Linde groen, daer &c.'.

Instrumental printed:

Vallet SM1616, p.7 'Onder de Lindegröne'; Vallet AS1642, f.40r 'Onder de Linde groen' (à 2; only bass part preserved); Playford ED1651, p.71 'All in a garden green'; MortierON(4)1709, p.11 (no.289) 'Onder de linde groen'; RogerON(11)1713, p.20 (no.801) 'Onder de linden' (Mortier and Roger both monophonic).

⁴⁷ Synopsis from the CD-booklet from *Sweelinck and the art of variation/ De variërende Sweelinck*; Brisk Recorder Quartet Amsterdam and Camerata Trajectina. Globe GLO 5253 (Castricum 2012), track [6]; translation Ruth Van Baak Griffioen. This recording can be heard at www.liederenbank.nl.

⁴⁸ Van Baak Griffioen, p.236ff.

⁴⁹ The standard name of this melody in <http://www.liederenbank.nl> is: 'All in a garden green'.

⁵⁰ Van Baak Griffioen, p.236ff. The distinction she makes between the two melodies is slightly arbitrary. The main differences seem to be the opening motif and the formal structure, which is 8+10 measures for 'Onder de linde groen' / 'All in a garden green' and 8+8 measures for 'Lord Zouche's Masque'.

Instrumental manuscript:

D-B HB 103, ff.25r-27r 'Unter der Linden grüne' = PL-Kj 40316, ff.10v-11v 'Allemand di Jean Peter de Hollandia (Schweling)' (keyboard, SweelinckOO I/3, no.8); GB-Cfm 168, pp.291-293 'Medley William Byrd'; IRL-Dtc 408/I, p.26 'All in a garden grene For the Leero' = GB-Och 439, p.59 untitled (VdGS no.8304).

The first section of the medley 'Primiero' uses the tune 'All in a garden green': GB-Cu Dd.2.11, f.87v 'Primiero' = GB-Lam 603, ff.13v-14r 'Premero Ri: Ally / Premero / Premero' (Richard Allison, AllisonR no.12); GB-Cu Dd.3.18, ff.32v-33r 'Primiero'; GB-Cu Dd.4.23, ff.19v-20r 'Primero'; GB-Cu Dd.5.20, f.2v 'Primiero'; GB-Cu Dd.5.21, f.5v 'Primiero'; GB-Cu Dd.14.24, ff.35v-36r 'Primiero'; GB-En Adv.5.2.14, f.24r: 'Primero'; GB-HU DD HO 20/3, f. [7v] '28 Primero'; GB-Lbl Add.29485, ff.25v-27r 'Pavane prymera'; US-CA 181, ff.1v-2r: 'the medly' (cittern).

Related to the tune of 'Onder de Linde Groene' / 'Lord Zouches March':

Instrumental printed:

Morley FB1599, no.23 'The Lord Sowches Mask'; Hove FC1601, f.106v 'Chanson Englesa / Chanson Englesae' (HoveB no.265); ibidem, f.110r 'Soet Catarijntken/ Soet Catarijnken' (HoveB no.272); Robinson NC1609, sigs. H1v-H2r 'Souches March'; Vallet SM1615/1618, p.91 'Branle d'Irlande A.9.'; Eyck FL1646, ff.18r-19r 'Onder de Linde Groene' (recorder solo).

Instrumental manuscript:

D-B 40141, f.38v 'Anglica'; ibidem, f.138r 'Balletto'; ibidem, f.138v 'Paulo aliter Ballet'; D-Kl 4^o Mus.108/I, f.24r 'Inglesa'; D-LEm II.6.15, p.295 'Balletta Anglica'; ibidem, p.395 'Chorea Angl[jica]: .50.'; D-LEm III.11.26, p.4 'D D^o Angleterre'; D-Lr 2000, p.8 'Ballet'; D-Ngm 33748 I, f.38r 'Anglese'; D-US 130, no.82 'Englischer auffzug/ Intrada Anglica'; GB-Cfm 168, pp.347-348 'The L. Zouches Maske 30 / Giles Farnaby'; GB-Cu Dd.4.22, f.3v untitled; GB-Cu Dd.4.23, f.33v 'Souches March'; GB-Cu Dd.9.33, f.88r untitled; GB-HAdolmetsch II.B.1, ff.148v-149r 'Intrada anglicana'; GB-Lam 601, f.7v 'my lord Southes maske' (index: 'my lord souches maske'); GB-Lbl Add.38539, ff.7v-8r 'the Lord Souches Maske'; LT-Va 285-MF-LXXIX, f.56v 'Volte'; NL-Lu 1666, f.395v untitled; S-Skma 1, f.5r 'Simphonia Angelica'; US-CA Mus.181, f.35v 'L. Such March/ the L. Such his March'; US-CA Mus.182, f.74v 'Souches March'; US-NHub osborn fb7, f.81v 'Souches March'; US-Ws V.b.280,

f.8r ‘Zouch his march’ (solo or duet part: see Stefan Lundgren (ed.) *English Duets for Two Renaissance Lutes* Volume 1 (München: Lundgren Musik-Edition, 1982), no.13 - second part reconstructed by James Tyler).

Different tune to ‘All in a garden green’:

Instrumental manuscript:

GB-Cfm 168, pp.194-196 ‘All in a Garden green William Byrd’; GB-Lbl Mus.1591, f.142v ‘all in a garden grine: mr: w: bird all in a garden greene’.

9 2 *lauingione* (f.5v)

This ‘Second lavingione’, as the title should be read, is an alternative melody for the famous courante ‘La Vignone’ (no.5). There are several such alternative ‘La Vignones’, all different. In his *Harmonie Universelle* (1636) the music theorist Marin Mersenne gives a courante ‘La Bocanne’ named after the famous choreographer Jacques Cordier dit Bocan, which according to Mersenne had formerly been called ‘la Vignonne’. It had the same pattern of nine 6/8 measures before and after the repeat sign in the middle, and obviously served as an alternative melody for the same dance. Another alternative can be found in the monophonic instrumental Finspong Manuscript 9098 (Dutch-Swedish, end of 17th century), that contains both the standard ‘Lavione’ and a ‘Lavione nouvelle’ with another melody, again with the same metrical pattern: in this notation, two sets of 18 measures in 3/4 time.⁵¹ Another ‘vignonne nouvelle’ can be found in the Catholic Flemish songbook *Evangelische leeuwerck* by Chr. de Placker (2nd part, Antwerp 1682); the melody of that matches the present 2 *lauingione* in the Enkhuizen MS.

Another case is the ‘2 De L’avignone’ in C. de Leeuw’s *Christelijcke plicht-rymen* (1648). De Leeuw took this melody from a later print of D.R. Camphuysen’s influential religious songbook *Stichtelycke Rymen* (first print 1624). This first print contains a contrafactum on ‘L’Avignonne’ with the usual melody in notation. In the third print (1639) the melody was supplanted by another one, fitting the same text, and that new melody was used by De Leeuw, slightly simplified, for a new contrafactum.⁵² The new melody did not retain the characteristic dance structure of two times 9 or 18 measures, which would not have had much meaning in religious poetry. Finally, there is a ‘Tweede Lavignione’ (Second Lavignione) in Jacob van

⁵¹ These two alternatives are mentioned in Dickinson ‘The Courante La Vignonne’, pp.56 and 61.

⁵² Van Baak Griffioen, p.200.

Eyck's recorder book *Der Fluyten Lusthof* (1649). Here the title refers only to a second set of variations on the same (usual) melody.

Vocal:

Camphuysen SR1624, p.28: song entitled 'Voornemens Bekrachtighing' with tune indication 'L'Avignonne'; Camphuysen SR1639, p.70: the same song text 'Voornemens Bekrachtighing' with another melody and no tune indication; Leeuw CP1648, p.28 '2 De L'avignone': same melody as in Camphuysen SR1639; Placker EL1682(1), p.33 'La Vignone' [usual melody]; Placker EL(2)1682, p.69 'La vignone nouvelle' (alternative melody, corresponding to MS Enkhuizen, no.9, and to Louys de Moy's *Le Petit Boucquet de Frise Orientale* (Rostock, 1631)).

Instrumental printed:

Moy PB1631, f.27r 'La seconde Avignone'.

Instrumental manuscript:

S-Skma Finspøng MS 9098/2, p.22 'Lavione' (monophonic) (usual melody); ibidem p.24 'Lavione nouvelle' (monophonic) (alternative melody); these two pieces probably also in S-Skma Finspøng 9096:10 nos.83 and 89. A different 'La Vignone': CH-Bu F.IX.53, ff.1v-2v 'L'Auignon'; D-B N 479, ff.74v-75v 'lavignonne'; RUS-Span O.No.124, ff.41v-42r 'Corante: la Vignione'.

Bibliography

The abbreviations of the titles used in the List of Concordances are given here in three parts:

1. Vocal sources including songbooks with and without music notation
2. Printed instrumental sources
3. Instrumental sources in manuscript

1. Vocal Sources including songbooks with and without music notation

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| Adriaenssen
<i>Airs</i> 1597 | see: Printed Instrumental Sources.
<i>Airs de court. Mis en musique à quatre & cinq parties de plusieurs auteurs</i> (Paris, P. Ballard, 1597). |
| <i>AMinnez</i> 1643 | <i>Het Eerste Deel van d'Amsteldamsche Minne-Zuchjens</i> (Amsterdam, 1643). |
| <i>AmMinnebeekje</i> 1645a | <i>'t Amsteldams Minne-Beeckie</i> (Amsterdam, 1645). |
| Beer GR1653 | P. de Beer, <i>Gheestelycke Rym-Konst</i> (Antwerp, 1653). |
| Bolognino GL1645 | G. Bolognino, <i>Den Gheestelycken leeuwercker</i> (Antwerpen, 1645). |
| Camphuysen SR1624 | D.R. Camphuysen, <i>Stichtelycke Rymen</i> ([Hoorn], 1624). |
| Cuilemborgh GZR1683 | Aem. van Cuilemborgh, <i>Godtvruchtige sangh en rym-stoffe</i> (Utrecht, 1683). |
| D-MG Mus.40.160 | Marburg, Westdeutsche Bibliothek, Mus. ms. 40.160, collection of ballets and dances for one voice in mensural notation, 17 th century. |
| Drieduym EY1672 | F.G. Drieduym, <i>d'Enckhuyzer Ybocken</i> (Enkhuizen, c.1666-1678). |
| Dubbels He1645 | P. Dubbels, <i>Helikon</i> (Amsterdam, 1645). |
| Forbes SF1662 | John Forbes <i>Songs and Fancies</i> (Edinburgh, 1662). |
| GB-Lbl Add.15233 | London, British Library, Add. MS 15233: songs in treble and bass in mensural notation in use <c.1626. |
| GB-Lbl Add.24665 | London, British Library, Add. MS 24665: Giles Earle songbook c.1615. |

- GNachtegael*(1-3) 1634 *Den gheestelijcken nachtegael. Eerste–derde deel* (Antwerpen, 1634). Ed. Helmer 1966.
- HaWinterbloempjes* 1647 *Haerlemsche Winter-Bloempjes* (Haarlem, 1647).
- HsAengwarda1757 N. Aengwarda, *Geestelijke Liedekens op de Hoogh-tijden en voornaamste feestdagen door het jaar* (Dokkum, 1757).
- HsLdUB BPL2973-1 Leiden, UB, BPL 2973-1. Superius partbook of mostly Dutch songs, most of them textless or partly texted (Netherlands, c.1640-50).
- Leeuw CP1648 C. de Leeuw, *Christelycke Plicht-Rymen* (Amsterdam, 1648).
- Lenaerts DTA1602 P. Lenaerts van der Goes, *Druyven-Tros der Amoureuushey*t (n.p., 1602).
- Lodenstein US1676 J. van Lodenstein, *Uyt-Spanningen* (Utrecht, 1676).
- MScharrezoo* 1650 H.J. Prins a.o., *Medenblicker Scharre-Zoodtje* (Medemblik, 1650).
- Pers BLW1640-1648 D.P. Pers, *Bellerophon of Lust tot Wijsheit* (Amsterdam, 1640-8).
- Pers VU1648 D.P. Pers, *Vernieuwde Urania, Of Hemel-Sangh* (Amsterdam, 1648).
- Pieuse Alouette* 1619-1621 *La pieuse Alouette avec son Tirelire. Partie première et partie seconde.* (Valenciennes, 1619-21).
- Placker EL1682 Chr. de Placker, *Evangelische leeuwerck ofte historie-liedekens* (Antwerp, 1682).
- Ringers SSP1686 V. Ringers, *Stichtelijk sang-prieel* (Franeker, 1686).
- Sluiter Gz*1687 W. Sluiter, *Gezangen van Heilige en Godtvruchtige stoffe* (Amsterdam, 1687).
- Stalpart EC1631 J.B. Stalpart van der Wiele, *Extractum Catholicum* (Leuven, 1631).
- Stalpart GJF1635 J.B. Stalpart van der Wiele, *Gulde-Jaers Feest-Daghen* (Antwerp, 1635).
- Starter FL1621 J.J. Starter, *Friesche Lust-Hof* (Amsterdam, 1621).
- Starter FL1623 J.J. Starter, *Friesche Lust-Hof* (Amsterdam, 3rd print c.1623).
- Swaen ZZ1664 [G. de Swaen], *Den Singende Swaen* (Antwerpen, 1664).

- Sweerts ZT1673 *Innerlykke ziel-tochten* (Amsterdam, 1673).
 Theodotus PGL1638 S. Theodotus, *Het Paradys der Gheestelycke en kerckelycke Lof-Sangen* (Antwerp, 1638).
 Tuinman MSG1709 C. Tuinman, *Mengel-Stoffe van veelerlei stichtelijke Gezangen* (Utrecht, 1709).
 US-LAuc Taitt Los Angeles, University of California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, MS without shelfmark: Robert Taitt musical commonplace book, music for 4 voices, c.1680.
 Valerius NG1626 Adrianus Valerius, *Nederlandsche Gedenck-Clanck* (Haarlem, 1626), Facsimile edn. Amsterdam: Facsimile Uitgaven Nederland 1968; New York: Broude Brothers, 1974. Vocal monophonic notation, lute and cittern settings.
 Vingertuig 1645 *Arions Vingertuig* (Haarlem, 1645).
 Wits SB1649 C.J. Wits, *Stichtelijcke Bedenckinge* (Enkhuizen, 1649).
 Zederijmen 1656 A. Janssen (text?) & S. Lefevre (music), *Zederijmen* (Amsterdam, 1656).

2. Printed Instrumental Sources

(for lute unless stated otherwise)

- Adriaenssen PM1600 Emanuel Adriaenssen, *Pratum Musicum* (Antwerpen, 1600), revised reprint of Adriaenssen PM1584.
 Ballard DP1614 Robert Ballard, *Diverses picescises mises svr le luth* par R. Ballard (Paris, 1614).
 Besard NP1617 Jean-Baptiste Besard, *Novus Partus* (Augsburg, 1617), facsimile edn. (Genève: Éditions Minkoff, 1983).
 Brade NA1617 William Brade, *Newe Ausserlesene* (Hamburg, 1617), for instrumental ensemble.
 Chancy TM1629 François Sieur de Chancy, *Tabulature de mandore* (Paris, 1629), for mandore.
 Euterpe1644 Jacob van Eyck, *Euterpe oft Speelgodinne* (Amsterdam, 1644).

- Eyck FL1649 Jacob van Eyck, *Der fluyten lusthof* I (Amsterdam, 1646).
- Foscarini CS1632 Giovanni Paulo Foscarini, *I quatro libri della chitarra spagnola* (unknown publisher and date, c.1632), for guitar.
- Hove FC1601 Joachim van den Hove, *Florida sive cantiones* (Utrecht, 1601). Facsimile edn. (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis & Nederlandse Luitvereniging, 2004).
- Mathew LA1652 Richard Mathew, *The Lute's Apology* (London, 1652).
- Matthysz UK1646 Paulus Matthysz, *'t Uitnemend Kabinet Vol Pavane... &c* (Amsterdam, 1644/ 1649), for treble and bass.
- Morley FB1599 Thomas Morley, *The First Booke of Consort Lessons* (London, 1599/R1611), mixed consort part books for bandora, cittern, flute, treble viol and bass viol survive but the lute part book is lost.
- Mortier ON(1)1700 Pieter Mortier (publisher), *Oude en nieuwe Hollantse Boeren Lietjes en Contredansen* (Amsterdam, c.1700), for one melody instrument (violin, flute or oboe).
- Mortier ON(2)1709 Pieter Mortier (publ.), *Oude en nieuwe Hollantse Boeren Lietjes en Contredansen*, part 2 (Amsterdam, 1709), for one melody instrument (violin, flute or oboe).
- Moy PB1631 Louys de Moy, *Le Petit Boucquet de Frise Orientale* (Rostock: Louys de Moy, 1631), facsimile edns. (Peer: Alamire, 1987; Lübeck: Tree Edition, 2008).
- Playford ED1651 John Playford, *The English Dancing Master* (London, 1651), for violin. Modern edition: ed. Jeremy Barlow (London: Faber, 1985).
- Playford MB1651 John Playford, *A Musical Banquet* (London, 1651), for lyra-viol.
- Playford MRLV1652 John Playford, *Musicks Recreation on The Lyra Viol* (London, 1652), for lyra-viol, facsimile edn. (Stuttgart: Cornetto, 2000).

- Playford MRLV1661 John Playford, *Musicks Recreation on The Lyra Viol* (London, 1661), for lyra-viol.
- Playford MRLV1669 John Playford, *Musicks Recreation on The Lyra Viol* (London, 1669), for lyra-viol.
- Playford MRLV1682 John Playford, *Musicks Recreation on The Lyra Viol* (London, 1682), for lyra-viol, facsimile edn. (Hebden Bridge: Ruxbury, 2002).
- Robinson NC1609 Thomas Robinson, *New Citharen Lessons* (London, 1609), for cittern.
- Roger ON(1-13)1701-1714 Estienne Roger (publ.), *Oude en nieuwe Hollantse Boeren Lieties en Contredansen* (Amsterdam, 1701-14), for one melody instrument (violin, flute or oboe), 13 vols.
- Valerius NG1626 See Vocal Sources.
- Vallet SM1615/1618 Nicolas Vallet, *Secretum Musarum / Het gheheymenisse der Zang-Godinnen* (Amsterdam, 1615) / *Paradisus Musicus Testudinis* (Amsterdam, 1618). Mod. ed. A. Souris, M. Rollin, eds. (Paris: CNRS 1970), facsimile edn. (Utrecht: STIMU and Dutch Lute Society, 1992; Haarlem: Stichting Spaarne Muziekdagen and Dutch Lute Society, 2013).
- Vallet SM1616 Nicolas Vallet, *Secretum Musarum / Het tweede Boeck van de Luyt-Tablatuer, ghenoeemt het Gheheymenisse der Sangh-Godinnen* (Amsterdam, 1616), modern edn., ed. A. Souris, M. Rollin (Paris: CNRS 1970), facsimile edns. (Utrecht: Dutch Lute Society and STIMU, 1986; Haarlem: Stichting Spaarne Muziekdagen and Dutch Lute Society, 2013).
- Vallet AS1642 Nicolas Vallet, *Apoloos soete Lier / Apollinis süssse Leyr* (Amsterdam, 1642), for [violin] and bass.

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- 17th-century keyboard Music xxix (New York, Garland, 1987).
- A-Wn 17771 Wien, Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, Musikammlung, MS 17771: keyboard tablature and canons in mensural notation, dated 1621.
- B-Bc 26.369 Bruxelles, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royale de Musique de Bruxelles, Ms. Littera S 26.369, c.1620.
- B-Br 926 Brussel, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. III.926: music for organ.
- B-Gar Reg.96.2 Ghent Stadsarchief Reg. 96.2, Phillipus Wyckaert, *Den Boeck van ... den Voorslach van der Clocke van Ghendt*, carillon music, 1681-93.
- CH-Bu F.IX.53 Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, Musiksammlung, Ms. F.IX.53, c.1620-45.
- CH-SO DA 111 Solothurn Zentralbibliothek Musikabteilung, MS DA 111: manuscript additions >1618, to copies of Nicolas Vallet *Secretum Musarum* (1615) and *Paradisus Musicus Testudinis* (1618) bound together.
- CZ-Pnm IV.G.18 Praha, Národní Muzeum, hudební Oddelení, MS G.IV.18: Joannes Aegidius Rettenwert lute book, c.1623-7.
- D-B 4022 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz (formerly Danzig/Gdansk), MS 4022, c.1615-20, facsimile edn. (Lübeck: Tree Edition, 2013).
- D-B 40141 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. ms. 40141: Johannes Nauclerus lute book, c.1607-20, facsimile edn. (Glinde: Jarchow, 2010).
- D-B HB 103 Berlin, Stadtbibliothek, MS HB 103: keyboard tablature copied second quarter of 17th century.
- D-B Hove 1 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. ms. autogr. Hove 1, c.1615, facsimile edn. (Glinde: Jarchow, 2006).

- D-B N 479 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, N. Mus. ms. 479, c.1620. See Richard Charteris, 'Wolfgang Hoffmann von Grünbüchel's Lute-Book: A New Source of European Music', *The Lute* 46 (2006), pp.1-42.
- D-Dl M 297 Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Handschriftenabteilung, Ms. M 297: Jena student B.K.K.S. lute book, dated 1603.
- D-HRD FÜ 9829 Herdringen, Fürstlich Öttingen-Wallerstein'sche Bibliothek, Schloss Harburg, Mus. Ms. FÜ 9829, c.1600-20.
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- D-Lr K.N.146 Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei und Stadtarchiv, MS Mus. ant. pract. K.N. 146: keyboard tablature owned by Joachim Drallius, 1650.
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- D-Us 130 Ulm, Stadtbibliothek, MS Smr Misc 130: Discantus and Bassus part books for two violins, copied for Anton Schermar, 1620, facsimile edn. (Stuttgart: Cornetto, 1997).
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- D-Us 133a Ulm, Stadtbibliothek, MS Exemplar Sign. 133a: mandora tablature written in Paris for Anton Schermar, 1626, facsimile edn. (Stuttgart: Cornetto, 1997).
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- D-Us 239 Ulm, Stadtbibliothek, MS Smr Misc 239: Laroussière mandora book, dated 1626, facsimile edn. (Stuttgart: Cornetto, 1997).
- DK-Kk Mu 6806.1399 København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, *Mu 6806.1399*: Ryge keyboard tablature.
- Faille MS French keyboard manuscript owned by Vincentius de la Faille and dated 1625, formerly in the Écorcheville collection but now lost. A modern copy of the music by Charles van den Borren is in the Conservatoire Royal de Musique in Brussels.
- F-Pn Rés.1185 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. 1185 (formerly 18548), c.1652, for keyboard.
- F-Pn Rés.1186 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. 1186 (formerly 18546), for keyboard, c.1630s.
- F-Pn Rés.1402 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. 1402: tablature for guitar, c.1650.
- F-Pn Rés F 494 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. F 494: Recueil de plusieurs vieux airs for instrumental ensemble, collection Philidor vol. I, 1690.
- F-Pn Vm7 6213 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Vm7 6213: French baroque lute tablature copied 1650-70.

- F-Psg 2344 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 2344: tablature for guitar, 1649.
- F-Psg 2351 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 2351: tablature for guitar, 1649.
- F-Sn R.107.10 Strasbourg, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire, supplementary manuscript R 10.710: manuscript additions to a copy of Besard, *Isagogue in artem testudinariam* (Augsburg, 1617), facsimile edn. (Genève: Éditions Minkoff, 1983).
- GB-Cfm Mus.168 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mus. MS 168 (formerly MS 32.G.29): Fitzwilliam virginal book, c.1619. Modern edn. ed. J. A. Fuller Maitland and W. Barclay Squire (London, 1894-9, reprinted New York: Dover Publications, 1963).
- GB-Cfm Mus.689 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mus. MS. 689: Lord Herbert of Cherbury lute book, c.1624-40.
- GB-Ctc O.16.2 Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS O.16.2, c.1630-35.
- GB-Cu Add.3056 Cambridge University Library, Add. 3056, so-called Cosens lute book, c.1610, facsimile edn:
<http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/music>
- GB-Cu Dd.2.11 Cambridge University Library, Ms. Dd.2.11, c.1590-5, facsimile edn, Albury: The Lute Society, 2010; and online at
<http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/music>
- GB-Cu Dd.3.18 Cambridge University Library, Ms. Dd.3.18 (consort lute), c.1590-1600.
- GB-Cu Dd.4.22 Cambridge University Library, Ms. Dd.4.22, c.1610, facsimile edn.
<http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/music>
- GB-Cu Dd.4.23 Cambridge University Library, Ms. Dd.4.23 (cittern), c.1595.
- GB-Cu Dd.5.20 Cambridge University Library, Ms. Dd.5.20 (consort bass viol), c.1590-1600.
- GB-Cu Dd.5.21 Cambridge University Library, Ms. Dd.5.21 (consort recorder), c.1590-1600.

- GB-Cu Dd.9.33 Cambridge University Library, Ms. Dd.9.33, c.1600, facsimile edn.
<http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/music>
- GB-Cu Dd.14.24 Cambridge University Library, Ms. Dd.14.24 (consort cittern), c.1590-1600.
- GB-Cu Nn.6.36 Cambridge University Library, Ms. Nn.6.36, c.1610-16, facsimile edn.
<http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/music>
- GB-En 9452 Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS 9452: Panmure House manuscript 5, c.1635.
- GB-En Adv.5.2.14 Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Adv.5.2.14: Stirling cantus partbook, 1639.
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- GB-Lbl Add.17786-91 London, British Library, Add MS 17786-91, music for instrumental ensemble à 5, probably copied in Oxford by William Wigthorpe, c.1610.
- GB-Lbl Add.29485 London, British Library, Add. MS 29485: Susanne van Soldt keyboard MS, dated 1599.
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- GB-Lbl Add.36661 London, British Library, Add. MS 36661: Thomas Tunstall virginal book, c.1630.
- GB-Lbl Add.38539 London, British Library, Add. MS 38539: M.L. lute book, c.1610-15, facsimile edn.

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- GB-Lbl Eg.2046 London, British Library, Egerton MS. 2046: Jane Pickeringe lute book, c.1616-50, facsimile edn. (Clarabricken: Boethius Press, 1985/R Newbury: Severinus Press).
- GB-Lbl Mus.1591 London, British Library, Mus.1591, 'My Lady Nevells Booke' for keyboard, 1591.
- GB-Lbl Sloane 1021 London, British Library, MS Sloane 1021, c.1640, previously known as the Johann Stobaeus lute book, into which the latter made no more than an album amicorum entry.
- GB-Lml 46.78/748 London, London Museum, MS 46.78/748: Anne Cromwell's book, for keyboard, c.1638.
- GB-Mp BRm 832 Vu 51 Manchester, Central Public Library, Henry Watson Music and Arts Library, MS BRm 832 Vu 51: Manchester gamba book, mid-late 17th century, facsimile edn. (Hebden Bridge: Peacock Press, 2003).
- GB-Och 439 Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. 439, for voice and bass accompaniment, including solo music for lyra viol, c.1620.
- GB-Och 1113 Oxford, Christ Church Library, Mus. 1113: keyboard manuscript copied by William Ellis, c.1640s.
- GB-Och 1236 Oxford, Christ Church College Library, Mus. 1236: keyboard manuscript copied by William Ellis, third quarter of the 17th century.
- GB-SA 38740/2 St. Andrews, University Library, MS 38740/2: tablature for lyra-viol copied c.1660s-1670s.
- I-Fn Magl.XIX 105 Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Fondo Magl. XIX 105, dated 1635.
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- lute book, c.1590-1610 (bound with the unrelated MS 408/II), facsimile edn.
http://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/index.php?DRIS_ID=MS408_001
- LT-Va 285-MF-LXXIX Vilnius, Central Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Ms. 285-MF-LXXIX (formerly Preußisches Staatsarchiv, Königsberg, Msc. A116. fol.): the Königsberg manuscript, c.1605-25, facsimile edn. (Columbus: Editions Orphée, 1989).
- NL-At 208-A-4 Amsterdam, Toonkunst-bibliotheek (now in Universiteitsbibliotheek) MS 208 A 4: Virginal book of Anna Maria van Eyl (Arnhem, 1671-75), written by her teacher, Gisbert Steenwick, modern edn. ed. F. Noske (1976).
- NL-Lu 1666 Leiden, Rijksuniversiteitsbibliotheek, Bibliotheca Thysiana, MS 1666: manuscript copied by Adrian Smout and later owned by Johan Thysius, c.1590-1646, facsimile edn. (Leiden and Utrecht: Nederlandse Luitvereniging en Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2009).
- NL-Ulb MS 20 A 6 Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek Ms. 20 A 6 (Ms. Hanekuijk, Harlingen begun 1703, mostly middle of 18th century).
- NL-Ulb RAR MSo 2 Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek LB-MUZ RAR MSo 2 Hans Brandts Buys: 1.B.37, Camphuysen manuscript for keyboard, mid 17th-century, facsimile edn:
<http://objects.library.uu.nl/reader/index.php?obj=1874-44862&lan=en>
page/45/94/11/4594118940949142545645523800734220759.jpg/mode/1up
- Pepusch 18/I Keyboard manuscript formerly in the library of Dr. Pepusch, lost since 1885, see *Musica Britannica* 40 (1959) p.279.
- PL-Kj 40316 Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Mus. Ms. 40316, for keyboard, c.1635-40.
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- provenance copied *c.*1615, facsimile edn. (Albury: The Lute Society, 2000).
- RO-MC 6199 Miercurea-Ciuc, Csíki Székely múzeum (formerly Complexul muzeal Județean Harghita), Nr. 6199 (Cod. 35), vocal and keyboard music in organ tablature, copied by Mátyás Seregély (1634-42) and János Kájoni (1652-71), facsimile edn. ed. Saviana Diamondi and Agnes Papp (Bucharest: Musicalia Danubiana 1993).
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- RUS-SPan Q N 204 St. Petersburg, Library of the Academy of Sciences, Ms. Q N 204, MS. with 17th-century keyboard music, known as ‘The Leningrad MS’; the cover is dated 1646.
- S-B 172 Skokloster, Slottsbiblioteket (Castle Library), PB fil. 172: Per Brahe visbok/lutbok, *c.*1620.
- S-Skma 1 Stockholm, Kungliga Musikaliska Akademiens Biblioteket, Tablature No. 1: Elisabeth Eysbock keyboard book, *c.*1600.
- S-Skma Finspøng 9098 Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, ‘Recueil de Pièces de Musique’ Finspøng collection MS 9098: two manuscripts of late 17th century violin music.
- US-CA Mus.181 Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Mus 181: Matthew

- US-CA Mus.182 Otley cittern book, c.1600 and <1650, facsimile edn.
<http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/22398305>
 Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Mus 182: John Ridout commonplace book, including cittern music, c.1608-after 1665.
- US-NHHub Osborn f 7 New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, James Marshall and Marie-Louise Osborn Collection, Osborn shelves fb7: lute tablature bound at the end of a poem by Sir Francis Hubert, c.1625, facsimile edn. (Albury: The Lute Society, 2007).
- US-NYp Drexel 5609 New York, Public Library at the Lincoln Center, Library and Museum of the Performing Arts, Drexel MS 5609, for keyboard, late 18th-century.
- US-NYp Drexel 5612 New York, Public Library at the Lincoln Center, Library and Museum of the Performing Arts, Drexel MS 5612, for keyboard, first half 17th-century.
- US-Ws V.b.280 Washington, D.C., Folger-Shakespeare Library, MS V.b.280: The Folger 'Dowland' lute book, c.1594, facsimile edn. (Albury: The Lute Society, 2003).

4. Modern Editions and Studies

- AllisonR *The Solo Lute Music of Richard Allison, with Bandora and Cittern arrangements*, ed. John H. Robinson and Stewart McCoy with a biographical sketch by Robert Spencer, (Oldham: The Lute Society, 1995).
- BachelorL *Daniel Bacheler Selected Works for Lute*, ed. Martin Long (London: Oxford University Press 1970).
- Chappell William Chappell, revised H. Ellis Wooldridge *Old English Popular Music* (London: Macmillan, 1893/reprinted New York: Brussels, 1961).

- CLFBal II *Ballard Robert Deuxième livre 1614*, ed. André Souris, Sylvie Spyket and Monique Rollin (Paris: CNRS, 1976).
- CLFPinel *Oeuvres de Pinel*, ed. Monique Rollin (Paris: CNRS, 1983).
- CLFVal *Robert Ballard. Deuxième Livre, (1614) et pièces diverses*, ed. André Souris, Sylvie Spyket, Jacques Veyrier and Monique Rollin (Paris: CNRS, 1976).
- CLFVau *Oeuvres de Vausmenil, Edinthon, Perrichon, Raël, Montbuysson, La Grotte, Saman, La Barre*, ed. André Souris, Monique Rollin, Jean Michel Vaccaro (Paris: CNRS, 1974, 1989).
- HoveB *Joachim van den Hove: Life and Works of a Leiden Lutenist*, ed. Jan J.W. Burgers (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2013).
- JohnsonS *Robert Johnson: Complete Works for Solo Lute*, ed. Albert Sundermann (London: Oxford University Press, 1970).
- PolakP *Jakob Polak Collected Works*, ed. Piotr Pozniak (Kraków: PWM 1993).
- Simpson *Claude M. Simpson, The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1966).
- SweelinckOO *Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, Opera Omnia*, ed. R. Lagas et al (Amsterdam: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis 1957-1990).
- Van Baak Griffioen *Ruth van Baak Griffioen, Jacob van Eyck's Der Fluyten Lust-hoff (1644-c1655)* (Utrecht: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1991).
- VdGS *Viola da Gamba Society*, online thematic index: <http://www.vdgs.org.uk/thematic.html>